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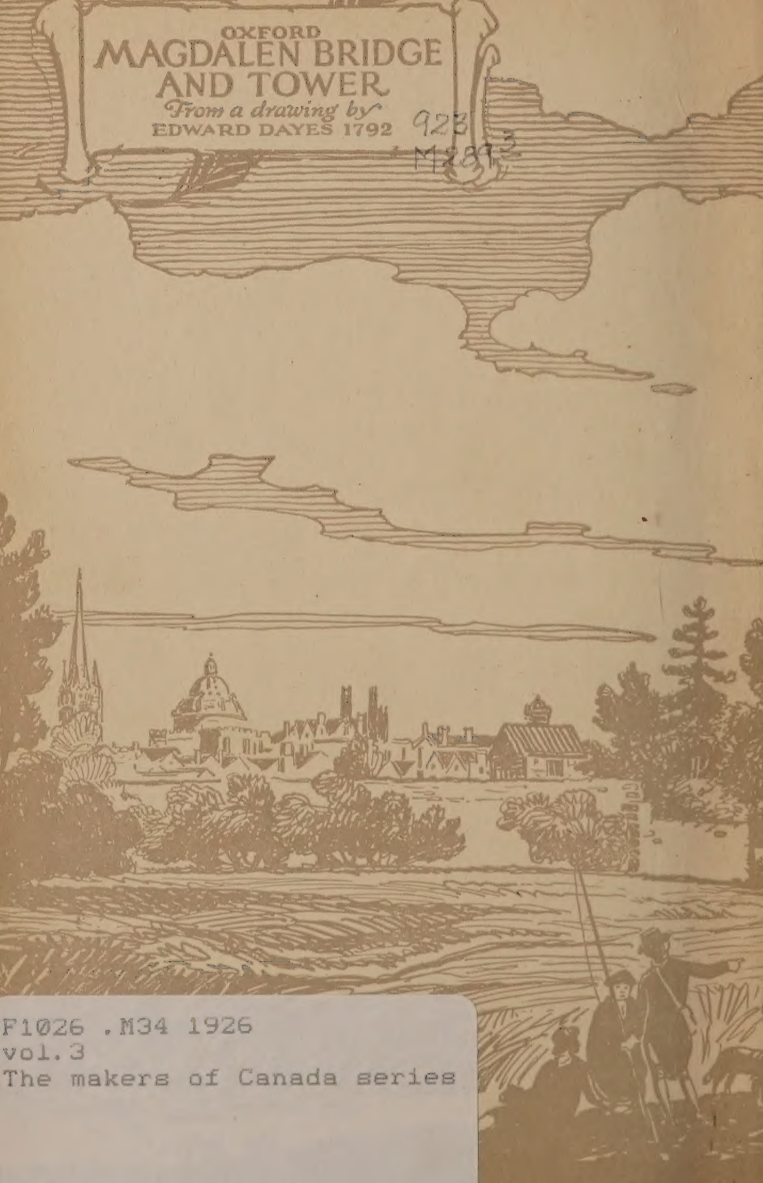

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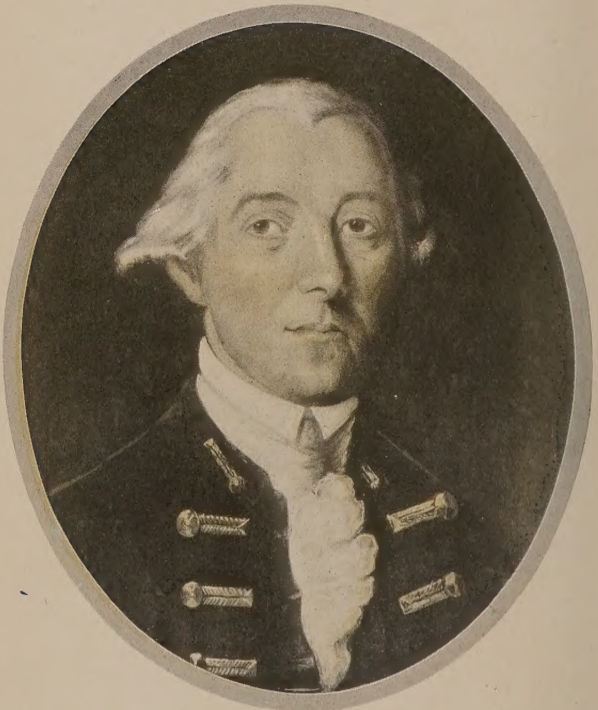
VOL. III

LORD DORCHESTER

SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND



LORD DORCHESTER

From a painting in the Public Archives of Canada

THE MAKERS OF CANADA SERIES

Anniversary Edition

LORD DORCHESTER

BY

A. G. BRADLEY

Illustrated under the direction of A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., Litt.D.
Deputy Minister, Public Archives of Canada

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PREFACE

THE names of Dorchester and Haldimand will ever hold a prominent place in Canadian history, for their administrations pretty well cover the crucial period from the conquest to the end of the century, and they belonged to an age when governors really governed.

The conquest of Canada, while it solved one problem, created another. It removed a great cause of worry to the old colonies but added a source of perplexity to the mother country. Hitherto the British Empire had grown chiefly by peaceful expansion rather than by conquest. Now, at one stroke, it was enlarged by the addition of a new territory which was not a new country. It had been settled by another European colonizing people who possessed a civilization quite different from that of Britain and just as old. What was to be done with Canada? The acquisition of Acadia, fifty years earlier, had given a little foretaste of this problem and the result had not been happy. The problem would have been serious enough had the American tragedy not developed and had France been Britain's friend instead of her secret or open foe.

The solution was the combined work of governors in Canada and the board of trade and secretaries of state at home. Two ideas at once

thrust themselves forward—to wean the Canadians from their old allegiance, and to give the country a British character by attracting an English-speaking population and establishing British institutions. It was natural that the governor being on the spot, should think chiefly of winning the French population. With all his Scottish ardour, Murray, the first governor, applied this policy in Canada and pressed it at home. But this was a mere beginning; he was recalled before civil government had been established two years. Carleton, who now found himself in Murray's shoes, followed on in his steps. His success was much greater. He was not tripped up, nor was he checked like Murray, for he lacked his explosive temper and was secure in the confidence of the home government, which Murray never enjoyed. Moreover, his purpose was strengthened by the failure of the hope of an English-speaking population and by the gathering of the storm cloud to the south. Before the latter broke on the shores of the St. Lawrence, the Quebec Act had been passed, the Roman Catholic Church had been won, and Britain, through her representative Carleton, was revealed to the French in Canada as a liberal and sympathetic conqueror. Though the Americans were repulsed before the walls of Quebec, the crisis had not fully passed. The entry of France on the American side of the war placed a great strain upon the new loyalty of the Canadians, and

Haldimand, who succeeded Carleton, felt as if he were sitting on the edge of a volcano. Few native Britons have been embued with a stronger sense of duty and devotion to their country than this adopted son from Switzerland, and he followed straight along the path which Carleton had pursued.

One mistake they both made, and the discovery of this is one of the reasons for the addition of notes to these chapters which were written twenty years ago. In giving a constitution to Canada in 1774, the British government sought to mould it to the character of the population which was overwhelmingly French, but had no design of sacrificing the English-speaking minority, as has sometimes been said. The Quebec Act established French civil law for the French landowners, and royal instructions to the governors directed the continuance of the rights of *habeas corpus*, trial by jury for civil matters, and English commercial law for the English minority. Both were to be satisfied. This was quite possible because the English minority had little interest in land tenure and the French majority had no more concern with commerce. But this balanced constitution was never realized. Only the part enacted by the British parliament was put in force. The other part was killed by the disobedience of Carleton and Haldimand.

Though the injustice thus suffered by the minority was unnecessary, it was the natural

counterpart of the strong French policy of these two governors, and the value of this policy cannot be overestimated. It laid to rest the fears which the Canadians had harboured for their religion and their racial integrity. The French of Canada were the first to enjoy that liberty to other races which is such a large part of the secret of strength of the modern British Empire.

When Carleton returned as Lord Dorchester, the whole face of things had changed. With the failure of the first hopes for an English population, the prospect had gradually dawned of Canada remaining to all time French in character though British in allegiance, and for almost a quarter of a century it had remained solidly French. Now a new future opened out. With the coming of the Loyalists, it was plain that Canada was to be English as well as French in character—a country with a dual nationality. A new policy was urgent and Dorchester came out to find it. The new policy was embodied in the Constitutional Act. But this, though it was based upon material which he collected, was neither his work, nor did it please him. Inspired by his commission as governor-general over the North American colonies which had survived the American wreck, and by the plan of his chief justice, William Smith, he urged the federation of all British North America. But the secretary-of-state was deaf to this prophetic proposal.

PREFACE

There is a wealth of material for the life of Haldimand from his arrival in America at the opening of the Seven Years' War. He was a great collector of papers, as the two hundred and thirty-two volumes in the British Museum testify. The materials for the life of Dorchester are much scantier. His papers were all burned after his death by direction of Lady Dorchester. Though his official correspondence has been preserved with other state papers, it is insufficient and has to be checked with other documents. This is a slow task, but it is particularly important because of Dorchester's character. Haldimand's character was almost transparent in its simplicity; Dorchester's was not. Haldimand never tried to cover up his mistakes; Dorchester always did. Since Haldimand has been cleared of the aspersions cast by Du Calvet, subsequent investigation has found little to correct and has been limited to filling out the picture. With Dorchester it is different. In some particulars the traditional interpretation has had to be reversed. The purpose of the notes, in the preparation of which both published and unpublished material has been used, is to supplement these two biographies by the addition of the fruit of later research, and the reader is advised to refer to them because the original text, excepting some minor changes, has not been altered.

A. L. BURT.

University of Alberta, August 15th, 1925.

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CHAPTER I

RETROSPECT

BEFORE introducing to the reader the soldier-statesman who is the subject of this memoir, it seems advisable to give a short sketch of existing conditions in the country which he was called upon to govern. Indeed it is almost necessary thus to prepare the ground for the advent of our proconsul, so that the reader may properly understand the kind of furrow he had to break. One may affirm too with perfect safety that the great lull which fell upon Canada at the close of the stir and turmoil of the Seven Years' War and the downfall of French power on the St. Lawrence, presents few attractions to the mind of a reader exhilarated by the glamour of those dramatic incidents. Most of us, on closing that page of history which influenced the future of two hemispheres far more than Waterloo, have felt little inclination to concern ourselves with the immediate fortunes of a few thousand war-sick and isolated French-Canadians. The historical student has turned more readily to the greater problems that so soon began to agitate the people of those British provinces after their safety had been secured by the fleets and armies of the mother country. Most people have a vague, but sufficiently accurate notion,

that the French-Canadians were left practically undisturbed in their laws and religion, and that to this wise and benevolent policy they responded with a due measure of loyalty and affection. But it is necessary here to be a little more precise and to indicate some of those complications inevitable to such new conditions, and the difficulties which beset the administrators of the conquered province from its first occupation.

Canada had been surrendered to Amherst by Lévis on the fall of Montreal in 1760. But the war with France in Europe was only closed by the peace of two years later, when the colony was formally ceded to the British Crown. Throughout this interval Canada was under a purely military rule, administered by a governor in Quebec with others nominally subordinate to him at Three Rivers and Montreal respectively. The chief authority, however, still lay with the commander-in-chief at New York, a position retained by Amherst. But for all practical purposes General Murray may be regarded as the administrator of Canada until the peace, as he was also its first actual governor subsequently to it. Murray had been one of Wolfe's three brigadiers at the Battle of the Plains. He had remained in command at Quebec and ably defended it against the French throughout the following winter. He was a good soldier and well versed in the military and civil conditions of North America, and withal an able, sensible and extremely

just man with a good knowledge of the French language.

These three years of military rule were, of course, regarded as a mere temporary expedient. No one knew positively whether Canada would be retained or restored at the treaty which would follow the approaching peace. The country was then regarded by British colonists as of no value for agricultural settlement, while its commercial statistics were contemptible. Its importance seemed mainly strategic; it was a foothold whence the dreaded power of France might menace the western continent. However, there were a few, how few must always be the marvel of us moderns, who saw the handwriting on the wall and who understood the temper of the average American colonist: his intense localism and aloofness from the political and social atmosphere of the mother country, his growing impatience of every form of restriction—and some were really galling, originating outside his own provincial legislature. A few prescient Englishmen, and more Frenchmen, displayed an indifference to the possession of Canada for the same reason, but from opposite motives. With the French power firmly seated on the St. Lawrence, it is safe to say that no thoughts of independence would have germinated to the south of it. But these warning voices were scarcely heard at the time—significant though they are to read of nowadays in the light of our later knowledge.

Murray's temporary government had been merciful and successful within its limitations. Both he and his officers won by degrees the hearts and the confidence of their late antagonists. They administered the law fairly and justly and did everything in their power to mitigate those sufferings, inevitable at the close of a devastating war, which in this case had been aggravated by the monstrous frauds and corruption of Bigot and his gang. Even the British soldier out of his poor pittance was not backward with such assistance as he was able to offer. When an order had gone out, however, in the autumn of 1761 to the garrisons in North America that the soldier was to pay four pence a day for his rations, hitherto provided by government, a serious mutiny broke out in Quebec. Fearful of the contagion spreading to other garrisons, Murray and his officers threw themselves into the breach with fine coolness and daring, and at the imminent peril of their lives, quashed a rising among these veteran troops, who as contemporary accounts tell us, were "mad with rage" at what they deemed a gross injustice. This intervention elicited the special gratitude of the king.

At this time too the great Indian rising known as "Pontiac's War" broke out. All the western Indians who had been actively or passively attached to the French went on the war-path. The old French forts from Michilimackinac in the far north-west to the Ohio valley, now mainly occupied by small British garrisons, had been treacherously attacked

and most of them had fallen. There had been much massacre and bloodshed. The frontiers of the middle provinces were threatened as they had been threatened after Braddock's defeat. Pontiac was an able and crafty leader of his race and had opened the war at Detroit, the defence of which important post by Major Gladwin is a memorable episode in North American history.

The French traders and settlers round these remote posts had no doubt some hand in fomenting discontent. The commanding influence and tact of Sir William Johnson succeeded in quieting the serious discontent of the Six Nations whose territory lay between the settlements and the West. If they had risen the situation would have been serious indeed. Their grievances were genuine enough, for the land greed of the British colonists, from highest to lowest, led to the most unscrupulous and dishonest methods of acquiring patents to Indian lands, the most flagrant among which being that of plying the Indians with liquor and securing their signatures to deeds when drunk. The provinces were loud in their claims to manage their own Indian affairs so long as it was a matter of mere land grabbing, but when the vengeance this awakened threatened their frontiers they called to the Crown to protect them and grudged every shilling and every man they were asked to contribute. Pontiac's War, however, had been mainly instigated by the French influence in the western country and had been further en-

couraged by the lack of friendly recognition and attention which the Indian's dignity required as part of the price of his friendship.

The war lasted for three years and occupied several British regiments, but was indifferently supported by the colonists whom it chiefly concerned. The gallant Swiss colonel, Bouquet, of the 60th was its guiding spirit. His masterly marches through the Alleghany forests on the track of the unfortunate Braddock and the heroic Forbes, and yet a hundred miles deeper into the wilderness than they, his hotly fought and successful actions with outnumbering Indian warriors on their own grounds, are among the best performances of a British officer and British regulars in the American wars. The war was not finished till 1765. But when Bouquet had done with them the western Indians from Michilimackinac to the Mississippi had no longer any shadow of a doubt but that King George, and not King Louis, was now their father. Colonial legislatures passed eloquent addresses of thanks to the soldier, the gentleman, and the scholar who had delivered them from their terrible foes. And they might well have included Johnson in their eulogies, for his ceaseless efforts had alone prevented four thousand Iroquois warriors from joining in the fray. Bouquet was made a brigadier, but that was the limit of recognition a grateful king and government accorded him. Though only forty-six his health would seem to have been undermined, and death closed his honourable life in

the years of his last and most important service. He died at his new command in Florida and added another grave to those of the "unremembered dead" whose services England overlooked then and has long forgotten, because they were given not in the glare of the footlights but on the remote and unfamiliar stages where the work of empire has been so largely done. Students, however, have not forgotten Bouquet, for many volumes of papers connected with his long service in America lie ready to their hand in the British Museum. He bequeathed them to his friend and executor, General Haldimand, another Swiss officer of the same famous corps, who has himself contributed almost as voluminously to the contemporary literature of the period. It is surely a curious reflection that to the literary zeal and foresight of these two loyal, foreign-born officers, we are indebted for the largest mass of contemporary evidence left by any persons connected with this period in North America.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 decided the retention of Canada by Great Britain, and it was immediately followed at the close of the same year by a proclamation of George III regarding his new governments in North America. We are only here concerned with that of Quebec, which excluding Nova Scotia and of course Newfoundland, covered the whole of what was then regarded as Canada. In the far north the Hudson's Bay Company, then as for a century later, held its solitary reign. Concerning the

title to the territory now roughly occupied by the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, though the latter was still a wilderness, there was no doubt. But it is easy to forget that after the cession of Canada the whole of the western country from Lake Erie southward behind the Alleghanies and as far as the New Orleans settlements up the Mississippi, ceded by the same treaty to Spain, was included in the king's new province. French settlement then extended no farther westward than the Island of Montreal. Modern Ontario and the vast west behind and to the south of it was occupied by the Indian nations, and thinly sprinkled with fortified trading-posts whose French defenders were now displaced by British garrisons.

The new ordinance confirmed the French inhabitants, or "new subjects" as they were called, in the full exercise of their religion as already promised at the surrender. It directed the substitution of the English criminal code for the more merciless French usages, an innovation already practically made and gladly accepted by the mass of the French inhabitants. In the matter of the civil code the proclamation was more vague, directing that English law should be followed so far as was compatible with the nature and customs of the people. This tentative clause was probably wise and even inevitable, but it gave rise to much of the misunderstanding and confusion with which the earlier governors had to grapple. The proclamation

went on to invite English-speaking people, or the "king's old subjects," to make their home in his new dominion, promising them, when the time should be ripe, all the benefits and blessings of British institutions and representative government. The French population at this time numbered about seventy thousand. The English for a long time scarcely exceeded four hundred, entirely confined to the two small cities of Quebec and Montreal, which contained between them a population of some seventeen thousand souls. The English settlers were mainly composed of traders and miscellaneous people of lower degree, with a few disbanded soldiers and half-pay officers, who had followed the army.[1] The majority were from the American colonies, and their numerical insignificance did not prevent them from at once endeavouring to establish the axiom that the country was to be administered entirely by themselves.

Murray was now appointed governor and captain-general of Canada. During his military governorship he had already experienced much trouble from the overweening pretensions of this small faction. He was now, like his successors, to experience much more. This difficulty will be so prominent in these pages that it will be enough to say here that it was aggravated by the fact of the British residents being, upon the whole, inferior representatives of their nation, while among the mass of unlettered

[1] See appendix A.

and reactionary French-Canadians there were several hundred persons of the seigniorial class, men, generally speaking, of polite manners and sufficient education, and accustomed to the respect accorded to a more or less exclusive caste. Murray and his officers had not unnaturally established good relations with the leading representatives of this small *noblesse*,[1] while with those not immediately in contact with him, as well as with the religious bodies and the peasantry the former had earned a general reputation for kindness, justice and integrity of purpose. In spite of the soreness of recent defeat, British rule was perhaps never quite so popular as when Murray, who had won the confidence of the French-Canadians during his dictatorship, retained it through the thornier period which distinguished the inauguration of civil government.

The number of the Canadian *noblesse* who returned to France has been frequently exaggerated. It seems to have been well under three hundred, including women and children, and many of these were actually officers serving in the French army, who followed their regiments. Amherst at the surrender in 1760 had granted religious freedom, but refused French law,[2] and had allowed eighteen months for all those unwilling to accept such terms to wind up their affairs and return to France. The question of civil law was of great importance to a

[1] See appendix B.

[2] See appendix C.

reactionary population wedded to immemorial custom. No wonder royal proclamations were timid of definition. But the general construction put upon the ordinance by the English authorities at Quebec was that of an English code. It was soon found, however, that to disturb the French laws of land tenure and inheritance, with which the whole seigniorial system of the province was bound up, was to invite chaos. Still more, any attempt at innovation was ignored. So the government was virtually compelled to acquiesce in the old custom so far as these more vital matters were concerned.

It is possible that there may be readers who need reminding that the land system of Lower Canada was of a quasi-feudal nature; that the country was partitioned into large estates held of the French Crown by a resident *noblesse* created during the past century and a half for this specific purpose. These seigniories were occupied by the peasantry or *habitants* at trifling rents, with the reservation of mill privileges and the payment of certain dues to the lord on sales or succession, and other transactions common to feudal or manorial custom. The seigniors held their estates rather in the sense of trustees for the people than as military fiefs. Though they had been the natural leaders of the militia of the colonies, the "militia captains" responsible for the force were specially selected persons in various districts, seigniorial rank not of necessity carrying military rank.

If the *noblesse* bore a partial resemblance, as was inevitable, to that of older countries, the peasantry, on the other hand, were more independent and well-to-do than those of France, as testified by a score of contemporary writers. A considerable fraction of the population were occupied as *coureurs de bois* in the fur trade, but the majority lived under the conditions here briefly indicated, along the banks of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Gaspé. Those seigniors who had sufficient means, however, seem like their bigger prototypes in France, and with better reason, to have spent much of their time at one or other of the two cities, while many of them in the late régime had held offices of various kinds in Quebec or Montreal, which added to their income.

Inadequate as is this slight sketch of a wide and complex subject it describes the situation sufficiently to give the reader some notion how widely different were the ideas of French and English colonists on the subject of land tenure. The latter, then as now, accustomed to acquire as much land in actual freehold as he had money to pay for, to buy and sell, barter or exchange it at a moment's notice, was confronted on coming to Canada, particularly if he came from the colonies, with a system that seemed to his restless and irreverent and material soul, barbarous and mediæval. From his office or shop in Quebec he clamoured for an application of the English land laws, not because he wanted to

become a land owner, but because as a true Briton, he thought the French laws ridiculous and suggestive of tyranny, just as he considered Roman Catholics as outside the pale of human justice.

But all attempts to enforce English civil law in matters connected with property rebounded from the adamantine walls by which French customs were encircled, leaving scarcely any impression. Murray with his broad sympathies and sound sense soon discouraged the attempt and a little later it was formally abandoned. Two civil officers were sent out from England, a chief-justice and an attorney-general,[1] to inaugurate and supervise one of the most complicated judicial problems that the wit of man could have been asked to solve. They were hopeless failures, neither of them knowing any French or any law, and they were in due course dismissed. As regards the general government, Murray had been empowered by royal instruction to nominate a council of eight members authorized to make laws and ordinances. This he had done, including in the number one French-Canadian.[2] The new courts were formally established in 1764. There was a court of king's bench holding its sessions at Quebec twice a year for trying civil and criminal cases according to English law—with an appeal to the governor in council in amounts over three hundred pounds and to the

[1] See appendix D.

[2] See appendix E.

king in amounts over five hundred pounds. There was a court of common pleas, holding bi-annual sessions, to determine according to equity, having regard to English laws, and to try cases above the value of ten pounds. Trial by jury might be resorted to if demanded by either party, and there were to be no religious disqualifications.[1] Lastly justices of the peace were appointed throughout the province.

The French in spite of their confidence in Murray were greatly perturbed at the prospect of a change to laws they knew nothing of, administered in the courts in a language they did not understand and by people who did not understand theirs. Not one in fifty could read or write and their very ignorance made them the more fearful. The attitude of the handful of British who had come among them was not of a kind to win their hearts, or wean them from their old customs. Murray describes them in one letter to the home government as "men of mean education, either young or inexperienced, or older men who had failed elsewhere," in another as "licentious fanatics." One might suspect even this shrewd soldier of over-heated language if Carleton had not in his turn treated his British-Canadian subjects to somewhat similar flowers of speech in his confidential despatches.

Here is the first presentment of the grand jury, the spokesmen of the handful of "licentious fanatics" who had come in to make money and regen-

[1] See appendix F.

erate Canada at the same time, and the reader may gather something of their point of view. They called for the better observance of the Sabbath Day and declaimed against the ordinary festivities of the Roman Catholic country they had transferred themselves to. They furthermore put it on record that a learned clergy was required to preach the Gospel in French and English. They demanded that no ordinance should be passed by the governor in council without consultation with themselves, and that the public accounts should be laid before them twice a year. They also represented the ordinances of the governor in council creating courts of judicature in the provinces as unconstitutional. Having hit at the government they then fired a shaft at the army, declaring it unfitting that its officers should exercise any judicial authority. Finally they protested against Roman Catholics sitting on juries in their own law courts, as it was "in flagrant violation of our most sacred laws and liberties and tending to the entire subversion of the Protestant religion." They also referred to Canada, which was as old as Virginia, as an infant colony. This piece of presumption on the part of a quarter sessions grand jury in hectoring and reprimanding the governor and council, accompanied by pretensions to represent the colony, took away the breath of the presiding justice, Samuel Gridley, who snubbed them soundly. As for Murray he was justly enraged at this irregular attack on his administration. He sent home

despatches giving the names of the signatories who represented, he declared, about two hundred of their race and faith in Quebec and Montreal, not ten of whom were freeholders, and who aspired to absolute dominion over eighty thousand of the king's new subjects. Moreover, six French-Canadian grand jurors who understood no English had been fraudulently induced to join in the presentment and now petitioned the king stating in what manner they had been deceived. The result of all this was a royal reprimand to these intolerant busybodies and a further announcement of His Majesty's intentions to see complete justice done in every way to his new French subjects.

Murray now thought it advisable to send a representative to London to explain the situation to the British government, and accordingly selected Cramahé, the most efficient member of the council —a Swiss by birth but an officer in the British army by profession. The British merchants countered this by despatching one of their own number to propagate their version of Canadian affairs in London. The British community slowly increased to between four and five hundred. They gathered all the trade of the colony into their hands, the French showing little aptitude for it, but being persons for the most part of little or no capital and not many scruples, such impetus to business as they created was qualified by the friction they stirred up; for they seem to have spared no pains in letting the

French know their opinion of their customs, habits and religion, and on the other hand to have taken little trouble to acquire the language of the country they traded in. Their relations with the military were quite as unfortunate, imbibed apparently from the American colonies where the troops who protected the country in time of war were flouted in peace as the pestilent minions of autocratic rule.

No barracks had as yet been built in Canada and billeting was an unfortunate necessity. The British merchants, and from example many of the urban French inhabitants, adopted such a bitter attitude towards the army that the resentment of the soldiers was very naturally aroused and a good deal of unpleasantness evoked. The magistrates were drawn mainly from the small British civilian class who were deeply imbued with the new spirit of anti-military republicanism born of the removal of the French terror from their borders. They passed severe sentences on the little frolics of exuberant privates, and this with an unctuous malevolence that was doubtless galling to the men whose devotion alone had made a career in Canada possible for these eighteenth century Bumbles. The officers shared in an odium quite unmerited in their case and not merely resented by themselves but by the better class among the French, with whom they seem to have been distinctly popular. The British community then went so far as to forward a petition to the Crown for Murray's recall, signed by twenty-one

persons. In this precious document they declared that they had submitted patiently to arbitrary military rule where they had expected to enjoy the blessings of British liberty, which in plain English meant a monopoly of authority over their French fellow-subjects and a legislative assembly chosen from themselves alone. A somewhat characteristic complaint against the much harassed governor was his remissness in attending church. This petition was supported by the London merchants for whom they acted as principals or agents, and whose knowledge of the complexities of the situation must have been even less than that of their present day descendants, which is saying much. A counter petition was promptly forwarded by the French seigniors defending Murray in eloquent language, describing him as the victim of a cabal, expressing the highest esteem for his justice and his good qualities, and praying for his retention. The friction with the military gave rise to a regrettable incident in Montreal at the close of 1764, which caused much heat and excitement throughout the colony, and as its effects lasted long after Carleton had assumed the governorship a brief outline of it seems necessary here.

It so happened that one Walker, a leading trader and magistrate in Montreal, English by birth, but Bostonian by recent habitation, had been extremely forward in securing the severe sentences passed upon the soldiers. He was a notoriously sour and bad-tempered person and deeply imbued with

those feelings of dislike towards everything monarchical or military then gathering strength in the province he had come from. The trouble arose out of a billeting order in the execution of which a certain Captain Fraser had assigned another officer, Captain Payne, to rooms in the house of a French-Canadian, which he himself had just vacated. In this house it so happened there lodged a magistrate, on which account the owner claimed exemption ; but Fraser argued that the exemption applied only to the actual houses of magistrates, not to those where they happened to be lodging. Captain Payne, however, positively declined to move, upon which a warrant was issued against him, and on his proving obdurate he was summoned before the magistrates and promptly committed to gaol. After lying there for some days he applied to the chief-justice of the province for a *habeas corpus* and was set at liberty. But the resentment felt by the garrison at what was conceived to be an outrage and an insult was prodigious. Fraser wrote to Murray that unless these magistrates were deposed he would himself resign. The justices, however, showing no signs of contrition, but rather the reverse, the garrison lodged a formal complaint. Feeling ran very high and Murray summoned the magistrates concerned to wait on him at Quebec ; but before they could start an event occurred which brought matters to a crisis and wrought up the whole colony to a high pitch of excitement.

Walker was the most active of the offending magistrates, and a plot was hatched by persons unknown to punish him. One night, while at supper with his wife, a number of masked men entered his house and assaulted him in most ferocious fashion, among other deeds cutting off a piece of his ear. The incident was of course serious, but the stir it created through the colony was out of all proportion, for it seemed certain that it must have been the work of some members of the garrison, and the faction opposed to them had an extraordinary opportunity for vindicating their treasured prejudices. All contemporary accounts declare that a panic seized the colony, and that every one expected to be robbed and murdered in his bed. When a soldier entered a shop we are told he had a pistol presented at his head until he completed his purchase. Even the French-Canadians, mostly neutral in these quarrels, took alarm. The noise of it reached England and the Crown offered a reward of a hundred guineas with a free pardon for any information leading to the conviction of the offenders. The victim himself offered a like sum for the discovery of the despoiler of his ear, while the inhabitants of Montreal offered another three hundred pounds. These large rewards were absolutely without effect, and it was not till two years afterwards, soon after Carleton's arrival, that anything transpired and a greater stir than ever was created of which we shall hear in due course. These events took place at the close of 1764.

In that year the governorship of Montreal and Three Rivers had been abolished. Haldimand held office at the latter place and Burton at Montreal, where he had given, and continued to give, Murray some trouble by refusing to recognize his authority. Indeed Murray appears to have regarded the disturbances there as partly due to lack of a firm hand.

A few weeks after the Walker outrage there was more friction than ever between the troops and the magistrates. A number of men of the 28th were committed to gaol with vindictive harshness, and feeling ran so high that a mutiny was feared and Burton deemed it necessary to acquaint Murray. Upon this the latter at once proceeded to Montreal, and affirmed that he found the inhabitants in fear of their lives and that a guard was mounted nightly at Walker's door. He spent some weeks in the town endeavouring to restore confidence and harmony and in prosecuting inquiries into the Walker mystery, which proved, as already intimated, fruitless. Before leaving he made arrangements for substituting another regiment for the 28th, which was already under marching orders.

The question of their religion, now that all hope of restoration to France was over, gave the French-Canadians many tremors and the British government much concern. Throughout the British colonies the liberal policy of the Crown in this particular had been freely censured, and it became one of the leading grievances in their indictment of the mother

country when the colonies began to formulate them. The government, however, stood firm on this point. There were many difficulties connected with its actual settlement. By the terms of surrender in 1760 free exercise of religion was granted "till the king's pleasure should be known." The king's pleasure was of course expressed in the treaty of three years later, and ordained that his new Roman Catholic subjects might profess the worship of their religion according to the rights of the Romish Church "so far as the laws of Great Britain permitted," a concession, however, which scandalized the British colonies and yet did not fully ease the minds of the indulged Canadians. Clericalism was a weighty force in the life of French Canada and the last sentence seems to have frightened its leaders. Moreover there were some practical difficulties. There had been no bishop, for instance, in the country since the surrender. An unqualified refusal had been given by the Crown to any further introduction of priests from France, for it was an obvious inference that they would strive to maintain the bonds of sentiment between the mother country and its lost colony, and in case of war would be dangerous agents. There now seemed to the Canadians some fear of their supply of priests running out, and Murray reported that it was the rising generation whose souls they were mainly anxious about. The leading ecclesiastics of Quebec petitioned the Crown, suggesting that priests should be introduced from other countries

than France, or that a bishop should be elected by themselves. After much discussion the latter suggestion was adopted and Monseigneur Briand was selected by the British government from three or four candidates, and was consecrated in Paris. He arrived about the time of Murray's departure in 1766.

The Jesuits too about this time were expelled from France, and the few that were in Canada as well as their considerable property became the subject of much controversy. Another trouble arose from the fact that a great deal of the old paper money issued by the French in the late war was still held in Canada, and though its redemption was a condition of the treaty the French government had shuffled a good deal in the matter and had caused the Canadians much anxiety and some loss. The English traders in Canada made considerable profits in buying up this paper from those who were forced to sell, though Murray did his best to prevent such sacrifices by opening an office for registrating the notes. The total amount of this paper in circulation was seventeen million livres.

The discontent of the British community with Murray found expression from time to time in letters of complaint to prominent persons in England which, added to the disturbance in Montreal, prompted the home government to summon him to London in an inquiring rather than a censorious mood, so far as one may learn. He arrived in the summer of 1766, leaving Colonel Irving, the senior

member of the council, as his deputy. He never returned though he retained his governorship for a time.[1]

After reaching London Murray published a written report addressed to Lord Shelburne. As an account of the colony by the man who had been responsible for its government for six years and who had on the whole acted with judgment and wisdom, a brief summary of his picture of it will be no bad introduction to the advent of his successor.

After an exact enumeration of the statistics of the country as to land, population, live stock and so forth, which having been collected by himself shows much praiseworthy effort, he treats of the British Protestant population, most of whom were "followers of the army, of mean education, or soldiers disbanded at its reduction. All have their fortunes to make and I hear few of them are solicitous about the means where the end can be obtained; in general the most immoral collection of men I ever knew and of course little calculated to make the new subjects enamoured with our laws, religion and customs, far less adapted to enforce these laws and to govern."

The Canadians on the other hand, the report declares, had been accustomed to arbitrary and military government, and were a frugal, industrious, moral race of men who from the mild treatment they received from the king's officers who ruled the country from the surrender of the colony

[1] See appendix G.

till the treaty of 1763, when civil government was declared, had greatly got the better of the natural antipathy they had to their conquerors. Murray here describes "the numerous *noblesse* piquing themselves much on the antiquity of their families, their own military glory and that of their ancestors, and though not rich, nevertheless in a situation, in a country of abundance where money is scarce and luxury unknown, to support their dignity. Their tenantry who pay only an annual quit rent of a dollar for a hundred acres are at their ease and comfortable. They had been accustomed to respect and obey their *noblesse*, their tenancies being in the feudal manner."

They had shared with the officers the dangers of the battlefield, and their natural affections had increased in proportion to the calamities overtaking both in the conquest of the country. As they had been taught to respect their superiors, Murray tells us, they were shocked at the insults which their *noblesse* and the king's officers had received from the English traders and lawyers since civil government was instituted. It was natural to suppose them jealous of their religion, for it had been the policy of the French government to keep them in a state of extreme ignorance. Few could read, and printing had not been permitted. Their veneration for the priesthood was in proportion to their ignorance. The clergy were illiterate and of mean birth, and now that fresh recruits from France were forbidden

Murray considered that the order would gradually sink in quality provided they were not exposed to persecution. He disclaims there having been any remarkable disorders in the colony, the Walker outrage excepted, the full details of which "horrid affair" he had already laid before the king's servants. Disorders and divisions, from the nature of things, could not have been avoided in attempting to establish a civil government under the instructions sent him. Magistrates were to be made and juries to be composed from "four hundred and fifty contemptible traders and sutlers." It was easy to conceive how the narrow ideas and ignorance of such men must offend any soldiers, more especially those of an army who had so long governed them and knew the meanness from which they had been elevated. It would have been unreasonable to suppose that such men would not have been intoxicated with the unexpected power put into their hands and not been eager to show how amply they possessed it. As there were no barracks in the country the quartering of troops furnished perpetual opportunity for displaying their importance and rancour. The Canadian *noblesse* were hated because their birth and behaviour entitled them to respect, and the peasants were abhorred because they were saved from the oppression they were threatened with. This Murray declares was amply proved by the presentments of the grand jury.

Another misfortune was the improper choice and

the number of the civil officers sent over from England which increased the disquietude of the colony. Instead of appointing men of genius and untainted morals, men of the reverse stamp were appointed to the most important offices, under whom it was impossible to give a proper impression of the dignity of government. As an example, the judge selected to conciliate the minds of eighty-five thousand foreigners to the laws and government of Great Britain had been taken from a gaol and was entirely ignorant of the civil law and the language of the country. The attorney-general in the matter of language had been no better qualified. Such offices as secretary of the province, registrar, clerk of the council, commissioner of stores and provost marshal had been given by patent to men of influence in England who let them out to the highest bidders, men ignorant even of the language of the country. No salary being annexed to these places the holders were dependent on fees which Murray was ordered to assess in amount equal to those of the "richest ancient colonies." The rapacity of these men was severely felt by the poor Canadians, but they patiently submitted to it. Though urged to resistance by some of the contumacious traders from New York they cheerfully obeyed the Stamp Act in hopes that their good behaviour would recommend them to the favour and protection of their sovereign.

Murray concludes his report by saying that he glories in having been accused of warmth and firm-

ness in protecting the king's Canadian subjects and of doing the utmost in his power to gain for his royal master the affections of that brave, hardy people whose emigration, if ever it should happen, would be an irreparable loss to the empire and to prevent which he would cheerfully submit to greater calumnies and indignities, if greater could be devised than those he has already undergone.

Murray now disappears from these pages. Whether his language was too warm or not must be inferred from the experiences on which his more distinguished successor is about to enter. As the first governor of Canada the verdict of history is distinctly in Murray's favour. As a brave and faithful soldier his heroic though unsuccessful defence of Minorca a few years later was a fitting climax to his successful defence of Quebec at a much more vital moment.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW GOVERNOR

GUY CARLETON was the third son of Christopher Carleton a landowner near Newry, County Down in Ireland and was born in 1724. The family came originally from Cumberland and were essentially, therefore, members of that Ulster plantation settled by emigrants from Scotland and the English border. The Carletons in short belonged to that virile Scotch-Irish stock which has given Great Britain so many great captains of war and industry, to the United States such a host of hardy settlers and able citizens, and to Canada a proportionately valuable contribution. Both these types of Anglo-Irishmen have in truth produced an extraordinary roll of distinguished men, and I shall hope to show in these pages that Carleton is not unworthy to rank among them.

His father died when he was fourteen and his mother (formerly a Miss Ball, of County Donegal) soon afterwards married the Rev. Thomas Skelton of Newry. To this gentleman's influence and care has been attributed no small share in moulding the qualities that made Carleton what he afterwards became.

On May 21st, 1742, he was commissioned an en-

sign in Lord Rothe's regiment, afterwards the 25th Foot. Promotion at first came slowly and nine years later, at the age of twenty-seven, he was only a lieutenant in the Foot-Guards, while his friend Wolfe, three years his junior, had been a captain at twenty. By 1757, however, Carleton had made up for lost time and was a lieutenant-colonel commanding the 72nd Regiment. Wolfe first mentions him in 1752 as "my friend Carleton" from whom he had just received an English news-budget at Paris, and a few days afterwards speaks of him again, alluding with gratification to his appointment as military preceptor to the young Duke of Richmond on a tour among the fortified towns of the Low Countries. Wolfe it seems could have had the appointment for himself, but confides to his mother that not thinking himself quite equal to it he had immediately recommended Carleton of whom, besides his great personal liking, he had professionally a high opinion. This from the almost hypercritical hero of Quebec is a significant tribute to his friend's qualities both of head and heart.

To Wolfe's busy and facile pen too, we are indebted for the fact that the "patron" at this time of Guy Carleton and his brother, who was also in the army, was William Conolly of Stratton Hall, Staffordshire, M.P. and privy councillor. This gentleman was of powerful Irish connection and died in 1754, an event which Wolfe alludes to as "a deadly blow to the Carletons." Both their fortunes, however,

survived it bravely. When Wolfe was appointed a brigadier under Amherst for the Louisbourg expedition, both he and his chief were anxious to take Guy Carleton, by this time a lieutenant-colonel. with them; but the king refused and sent him to the British legion serving under Prince Ferdinand in Germany. Wolfe was very wroth. "It is a public loss," he wrote. "The king has refused Carleton leave to go, to my very great grief and disappointment and with circumstances extremely unpleasant to him." Carleton it appears had spoken disparagingly of the Hanoverian troops, a mortal offence in King George's eyes. In the next year when Wolfe was appointed to the chief command against Quebec, occurred the somewhat well-known incident when he sent up Carleton's name to the king as a member of his staff, and His Majesty, still unforgiving, drew his pen through it. Wolfe would not be denied, and Pitt in full sympathy with his disappointment sent the commander-in-chief, Ligonier, back to the presence to press Carleton's appointment, but the king remained firm. So did Wolfe, and begged that it should be represented to His Majesty that a general who was to be held responsible for a difficult undertaking should at least have the choice of his coadjutors. At a third appeal urged in this form the king relented, and Carleton went out as quartermaster-general. We have Wolfe's own words that he relied chiefly on his friend to supply the lack of ability among his engineers.

During the siege Carleton was sent up the river in command of a force to Pointe-aux-Trembles where he landed, searched the country for provisions and brought off some prisoners. Later on, before the final operations, he was entrusted with the difficult task of drawing off the troops from the camp at Montmorency. In the battle on the Plains of Abraham he was on the left of the line and was wounded, but not seriously. Returning to Europe he took part, in 1761, in the attack on Port Andro and was wounded again. In the following year he became a full colonel and at the siege of Havana served under Albemarle with much distinction, being once more wounded in a sortie. We know nothing more of Carleton but these bare facts till he was appointed to succeed Murray at Quebec. To deal impersonally with the incidents in which he figured before he began the work by virtue of which his name lives, would be futile and prodigal of space which should be better employed. Hitherto he had been the resolute and efficient agent of other men's tactics. In future he was to be his own master as well as oftentimes his own agent. Till 1766 and his forty-second year it had been his business to obey. For the rest of his long life when in active service it was his lot to command and nearly always, whether in peace or war, to command under circumstances of exceptional difficulty.

Carleton arrived in Quebec on September 22nd, 1766, and was sworn in the following day. Murray

retained the governorship-in-chief for about two more years and his successor was in actual fact his deputy.[1] The holding of a colonial governorship in those times had no necessary connection with its duties and responsibilities. Many of these officers in North American provinces were and had been deputies, while the shadowy figures of their titular chiefs have no place in the local story. Colonel Irving had, of course, been merely a temporary administrator during the short interval between Murray and Carleton. The latter received three simultaneous addresses from the council, the magistrates, and the traders of both nationalities, all couched in cordial and respectful language. To these he returned suitable replies, declaring among other things that he intended to make no distinction between classes, but only between the worthy and the unworthy.

I have already described the discontent existing among all parties, and during Irving's brief administration expectancy of changes to come had increased the general anxiety. Carleton wrote home to his government that he was favourably impressed with the good sense of the reception addresses. He notes that these separate addresses were due to the fact of the people, from mutual jealousies, being unable to act together. The effect of the Stamp Act, too, was already visible in Canada, for he writes that there had been some

[1] Carleton was appointed governor, January 12th, 1768.

objections to the addresses on that account and many bloody noses. He found enough friction also in the matter of the Indian trade at the western posts to call for judicial treatment. One of his earliest experiences was characteristic. He had ventured to consult privately two or three of his council on some matter in which they had special experience; whereupon the remainder sent him a remonstrance against so unconstitutional a proceeding. Carleton snubbed them very severely, replying that in any matter where the formal consent of the council was not required, he should consult whom he chose, not merely such members as were best qualified to give advice on the subject in hand but any persons outside whose opinion might be considered of value. "The movers of this protest," he says, "are Mabane, who was a surgeon's mate in the army, Murray, a strolling player, and Mounier, the solitary French-Canadian member, an honest trader who will sign anything his friends ask him to." What made the rebuff more direct was the fact that Colonel Irving had signed the protest, at the same time excusing the governor to his friends on the plea that his action had been merely an accident. Carleton replied that it was nothing of the kind, and that he intended always to consult such men as he could find of good sense, candour and impartial justice, and who preferred their duty to the king and the tranquillity of his subjects to unjustifiable attachments, party zeal and selfish, mercenary laws.

If strict impartiality was then possible in Quebec those possessing it must have thought that they had a governor after their own heart.[1]

In November the Jesuits, thinking that Murray had gone beyond the king's wishes in refusing their reinstatement, petitioned the Crown, de Glapion, superior in Quebec, forwarding the address through Carleton. It set forth that the order was established in Canada by the benevolence of French kings; that its chief purposes were: firstly, the instruction of Indians in the knowledge of God; and secondly, the education of youth; and that they had been unable since the siege of Quebec to carry on their work from want of teachers and buildings, such of the latter as were left to them being occupied as storehouses or officers' quarters. They prayed that Murray's order against their receiving either European or Canadian students be revoked, and that their buildings be restored with indemnification for damage.

In the same month the new governor gave an unmistakable instance of the singlemindedness and high sense of honour which distinguished him throughout life in relinquishing by proclamation all the fees and perquisites attached to his office. Carleton was not a rich man, and no sort of stigma had ever attached to what were legalized payments. Indeed Murray took some offence, for he regarded Carleton's action as reflecting in some sort on him-

[1] See appendix H.

self, an intention which Sir Guy hastened to repudiate. He informed his government that he thought it unbecoming in the governor of a distant province to receive such emoluments. The province he said had been impoverished by the war, the frauds of Bigot and the retreat of many of the richest families, so that the imposition was burdensome. "There is a certain appearance of dirt, a sort of meanness in exacting fees on every occasion. I think it necessary for the king's service that his representative at least should be thought unsullied." He thought the fees for higher licences should be increased for the good of the people, and he would apply the surplus for the relief of the distressed *noblesse* who had hitherto depended largely on the French Crown.

At this same time too, in Carleton's first autumn, the Walker affair of two years before, which still remained a mystery, broke out again, as a witness had come forward to swear to the persons who had assaulted the much hated magistrate. He was in truth a lame sort of pillar on which to rest a case—a discharged soldier of the 28th Regiment, named M'Govoch. This man lodged information against the following gentlemen for participation in the outrage: Saint Luc de La Corne, a well-known French officer, Captain Disney of the 44th, Captain Campbell of the 27th and Captain Fraser, who, it will be remembered, was the indignant paymaster, and a Mr. Joseph Howard. All these persons were arrested in their beds in Montreal and

taken to Quebec, Walker objecting to their being bailed since he declared that his life would be in danger. Carleton must have been at some disadvantage in dealing with an affair which had been wholly outside his personal knowledge, though there had been much talk about it two years before in London The Walker view of it seemed at that distance the only possible one to take, besides which the plaintiff had friends there to suppress his own extravagances of temper and pretention, and to represent him as a normal sort of person and the victim of unprovoked aggression. Carleton's new chief-justice was Hey, an able and sensible man to judge from his writings, and he was distinctly prejudiced against Walker. Masères, the attorney-general, had an opposite bias, from the fact that as a French Huguenot of a family driven from France in a former generation he was a bitter opponent of everything connected with popery, and in this business a somewhat aggressive Protestant was ranged against soldiers who were at this time in general sympathy with the Canadian *noblesse*, one of whom indeed was actually a prisoner. Masères it may be noted was a fellow of Clare, Cambridge, and had achieved considerable academic distinction. Walker was backed by a strong and trenchant letter from Conway who had been a secretary of state in the preceding March.

The prisoners were now thrown into the common jail, and were refused bail in spite of urgent petitions

signed by influential people of all kinds, members of the council, leading French-Canadians, and of course the British officers. They were soon afterwards, however, sent back to Montreal and some improvement in their comfort was eventually made. Walker wished the trial to be deferred, presumably that the prisoners' discomfort might be prolonged. Hey consented, but in such case would admit the prisoners to bail. This action not commending itself to Walker the trial proceeded. On the first case, that of Lieutenant Evans, being thrown out by the grand jury, Walker let loose the vials of his wrath in court, which did not increase the public sympathy for him. Masères prosecuted for the Crown and made some unsuccessful efforts to reconstitute the grand jury upon ancient statutes, which the chief-justice pronounced to be doubtful and odious. In short the grand jury, eight of whom were of the French-Canadian *noblesse*, threw out the bills against all but Disney who was now a major. This officer was tried in March, and after a hearing of eight hours and the examination of many witnesses was "most honourably acquitted" having proved an alibi, the jury taking no more than the time occupied in reading out the notes of the depositions to come to that verdict. M'Govoch, the discharged soldier and chief witness for the prosecution, contradicted himself so deplorably under examination that the grand jury presented him for perjury, and he was sent to prison. There really appears from the voluminous

correspondence on the subject to have been something like collusion between this man and Walker, or as Hey puts it in a lengthy report, Walker's animus against the military cast had caused him to forget caution in the kind of character whose assistance, as a witness, he called in. One indirect result of the trial was the dismissal by Carleton of Colonel Irving and Mabane from the council.[1] Before the Walker trial they had headed a miscellaneously organized crowd of petitioners on behalf of the prisoners, a proceeding which Carleton objected to in their capacity of councillors. So ended this mysterious and quite remarkable affair. One grudges the time occupied in going through the papers relating to it only to come to the same conclusion as all other chroniclers of the period, *i.e.*, that though there must have been many people at the time who knew or suspected the truth, it is absolutely hidden from any later student of the voluminous literature relating to it. It cannot be ignored, however, in the incidents of Carleton's period since it shook Canada from end to end, and exhibits the curious cleavages that just then existed in Canadian society.

Carleton's first mission, from 1766 to 1778, was to attach the French and save the colony from the tremendous magnetism of the American republic. His second, from 1786 to 1796, was to reconstitute the country when two rival races of about equal

[1] See appendix I.

strength were struggling in unsympathetic and dangerous fashion for mastery, and the seeds of future greatness had actually been sown.

The chief domestic question of the colony continues to be its legal code, or rather lack of one. Against the English criminal law there had never been a murmur save from a few seigniors who thought it over lenient. In the civil code, besides their general aversion to it, the feudal prejudices of all the upper class caused them to cavil at *habitants* being elevated to the dignity of jurymen. It is supposed that these latter took as yet very little interest in the matter, beyond the dull, latent suspicion of change natural to a class politically and intellectually dumb. The discussions and disagreements lay between the few hundred British and French traders and Canadian seigniors, notaries and doctors. It is difficult to say how much of English civil law was forced upon the French-Canadians, but speaking generally the struggle to do so was gradually abandoned, sometimes from weariness, sometimes by special ordinance. One trouble in regard to land laws was that when it suited the interests of a French-Canadian to be guided by English custom he followed it even after its nominal abandonment, and there were often persons who adopted such means only in order to shirk the more beneficent clauses in the French code. Seigniors for instance would make terms more advantageous for themselves than their own laws had allowed, or tenants

would build wretched houses on smaller areas than was permitted by Canadian custom. In conveying land also, fines and dues were shirked on the pretext of this otherwise ignored English code.[1]

The French chafed at the delays and the costs of the new courts, their own system having been quicker and cheaper. The grievance was recognized and more frequent sittings were given; French lawyers were permitted to plead and in their own language. The salaries, too, seemed extravagant to the French, accustomed to a perennial scarcity of money. The ordinances regulating the courts having been published in French, the fact that the English language as well as law was generally unintelligible made the hostility to the latter stronger from this very ignorance, while the arrogance of the small English community bred an unceasing dislike of the British law simply because it was British. Carleton himself believed in the English criminal and French civil law in their respective entirety, but he had too much sense to set up his own views on codes and statutes against those of professional jurists. He ordered his attorney-general, Masères, to draw up a report, although it was felt that this honest and able man was hampered by his immovable prejudices. He made four suggestions to Carleton. The first was to draw up an entirely fresh code; though the technical difficulties, Masères declared, were immense, and the erudition required would

[1] See appendix J.

involve the services of the highest lawyers of France. The plan, however, would have the advantage of terminating that constant reference to old French precedents which kept alive the reverence for everything emanating from France. The second plan was that of Carleton's—to retain the French civil law and abolish the criminal code, which included questions by torture, breaking on the wheel, and such like barbarities, and to introduce the *habeas corpus*. The third choice was to make English law universal, retaining only some of the ancient customs which were harmless; and the fourth was practically the same, only stipulating that the reservations in the way of French law should be distinctly tabulated. These last two schemes would have satisfied the English community, but the French feared the lack of finality about any interference with their own civil code, though they might have accepted a new Canadian one if the difficulties of creating it had not been thought by the attorney-general to be insuperable.

The validity of Murray's proclamation of 1762[1] ordaining that English law was to be followed with certain vague reservations, was being questioned on the grounds that it had not the consent of both Houses. In short, something like chaos pervaded the whole legal machinery of Canada at this time, and compromise was made more difficult by the irritation between the French and British parties in the two

[1] See appendix K.

cities. The British ministry was very anxious to find a *via media*, and in June 1767, Shelburne wrote very strongly to that effect to Carleton, and in December acquaints him that Mr. Maurice Morgan had been ordered to Canada to study the legal situation, with the assistance of the chief-justice of the colony and other "well instructed persons." The upshot of all this was much consultation in 1769 between the legal authorities of the colony, Carleton, and the home government, with a view to some definite codification of Canadian laws. It would weary the reader for little purpose to relate the divergent views of the various prominent persons concerned in these transactions which were ultimately welded into the Quebec Act of 1774, a period we have not yet reached. A letter from Carleton to Shelburne under date November 25th, 1767, partly explains his personal adherence to an undiluted French civil code, and makes it quite evident that he did not anticipate any numerical increase in the British population of the province. Ontario, it must be remembered, was still an unconsidered wilderness and the American revolution, with its resulting flood of United Empire Loyalists, as yet in the lap of the future. At the same time Carleton was prepared to apply his views to a country whose western limits were ill-defined and vast, and which virtually included what is now known as the middle west of the United States, and this must be accounted against him and those who thought with him.

The letter alluded to is written in reply to a notification of the British government that the civil constitution of Quebec was a matter of immediate concern to them, and it gives a brief sketch of the province as seen by Carleton. The town of Quebec, he declares, is the only post in the province with any claim to be called a fortified place, for the flimsy wall about Montreal, even were it not falling to ruins, could only turn musketry. As for Quebec it would be a good camp for ten or twelve battalions. Its front is fortified by a bastioned rampart faced with masonry, built for the most part upon a rock without ditch or outworks; its profile slight for a fortress, though substantial for an encampment; its parapet in very bad order. The flanks and rear in 1759 were closed partly by a thin wall, the rest by great stakes now carried away on rollers. With a number of men sufficient for this post, their flanks and rear might be secured and so guarded as to induce an enemy to form his attack in front; but in proportion as the numbers fall short the danger increases of being stormed with little ceremony, especially when this line is open in many places as at present. Carleton goes on to say that the total number of troops now with him is sixteen hundred and that the king's old subjects, i.e., the British, if collected from the rest of the province into Quebec might amount to four hundred. With two months' hard labour they might then place the town in a proper state of defence and he would then have just about one third of the

number requisite for defending it. In view of a war with France, Carleton points out that the king's new subjects could put into the field eighteen thousand men well able to carry arms, about half of whom had already served with as much valour, more zeal, and more military knowledge for American purposes than the regular troops of France who acted with them. As the common people are greatly influenced by their seigniors he encloses a list of the *noblesse* of Canada, showing with tolerable exactness their age, rank, and present place of abode, together with such natives of France as had served in the colonial troops so early in life as to give them knowledge of the country. This list mentions over a hundred officers all ready to be sent back in case of war to a country with which they are intimately acquainted, and who may with the assistance of regular troops stir up a people accustomed to pay them implicit obedience. "On the other hand," he continues, "there are only some seventy of these officers in Canada who have been in the French service, but not one of them has been given commissions in King George's service, nor is any substantial inducement held out to them to support the king's government. These gentlemen it must be remembered have lost their employments by becoming his subjects, and as they are not bound by any offices of trust or profit we should only deceive ourselves by supposing they would be active in defence of a people who had deprived them of their honours, pri-

vileges, profits and laws, and in their stead have introduced much expense, chicanery and confusion, with a deluge of new laws unknown and unpublished. While, therefore, matters continue in their present state, the most we can hope for from the gentlemen who remain in the province, is a passive neutrality on all occasions, with a respectful submission to government. This they almost to a man have persevered in since my arrival, notwithstanding that much pains have been taken to engage them in parties by a few whose duty and whose office should have taught them better." The French minister, Carleton continues, seems to have foreseen this disposition and to have done his best to attract them to France where they would be useful in any war with England. All these officers were assigned quarters in Touraine. They received, so long as they remained there, full pay upon a recently increased scale, and this was offered, together with arrears, to any of those remaining in Canada who might choose to return to France.

Having given the disproportionate strength of His Majesty's old and new subjects in Canada, Carleton proceeds to indulge in prophetic utterances. "There is not the least probability" he continues, "that this superiority of numbers will diminish; on the contrary it will increase and strengthen daily. The Europeans who emigrate will never prefer the long inhospitable winter of Canada to the more cheerful climate and more fruitful soil of His Majesty's southern prov-

inces. The few old subjects at present in this province are mostly here by accident, and are either disbanded officers, soldiers, or followers of the army who, not knowing how to dispose of themselves elsewhere, settled where they were left at the reduction, or else they are adventurers in trade, or such as could not remain at home who set out to mend their fortunes at the opening of this new channel for commerce. But experience has taught almost all of them that this trade requires a strict frugality, which they are all strangers to, or to which they will not submit. So that many have left the province and I greatly fear many more, for the same reasons, will follow their example in a few years. But while this severe climate and the poverty of the country discourages all but the natives, its healthfulness is such that these multiply daily, so that barring a catastrophe shocking to think of, this country to the end of time must be peopled by the Canadian race, who already have taken such firm root that any new stock transplanted will be totally and imperceptibly hid amongst them, except in the towns of Quebec and Montreal." Of all the Canada that then existed and that Carleton knew, his forecast was a sufficiently accurate one. This illuminating letter winds up with military suggestions for the defence of Canada, and the building of a proper citadel in Quebec, proposed plans for which Carleton encloses. His list of the Canadian *noblesse* gives one hundred and twenty-six heads of families, or independent

bachelors resident in the colony, three fourths of whom are in the district of Montreal, and seventy-nine resident in France as officers.

Many private individuals among the English population of Canada were in the habit of communicating their views on the state of the colony to the home government, and a favourite burden of their theme was the dark plots they believed the French population to be engaged in for overthrowing British authority and regaining the country for France. Carleton seems to have thought it worth while to allay the anxiety thus created in the minds of the government by one very full letter on this subject which was transmitted in 1768. In this he says that since his arrival he has not been able to discover any signs of such secret assemblies, nor could he believe that the chiefs of their own free notion in time of peace would dare to assemble in any numbers to consult and resolve on a revolt, nor was it credible that any assembly of military men should be so ignorant as to fancy they could defend themselves by only a few fireships against any future attack from Great Britain after the experience of '59. Nevertheless it seemed to Carleton that in spite of their "decent and respectful obedience to the king's government hitherto, there was no doubt of their secret and natural affection for France, an affection that would continue so long as they were excluded from all appointments in the British service and they were certain of being reinstated at

least in their former commissions with a return to French dominion; for it was by such employment they chiefly supported themselves and their families."

Considering the vexations in the matter of fees and the frequent litigation that the Canadians had been put to, and that their British rulers had never taken a single step to gain one man in the province by making it his private interest to remain the king's subject, Carleton owns that the fact of his never having discovered any treasonable correspondence was not proof sufficient that none existed; but if so, probably very few were entrusted with the secret. A false report had been sent over secretly to France in the previous year that the king of England intended raising a regiment of his new subjects, and on its being echoed back to Canada most of the seigniors in the province had applied to Carleton to admit them into the king's service, assuring him that they would take every opportunity of testifying their zeal and gratitude for "so great a mark of favour and tenderness extended not only to them but to their posterity." "When I further consider," wrote Carleton, "that the king's dominion here is maintained by a few troops, necessarily dispersed, without a place of security for their magazines, for their arms or themselves, amidst a numerous military people, the gentlemen all officers, poor without hopes that they or their descendants will be admitted into the service of their present sovereign, I can

have no doubt but that France as soon as determined to begin a war, will attempt to regain Canada should it be intended only to make a diversion, while it may reasonably be undertaken with little hazard should it fail, and when so much may be gained should it succeed."

Carleton evidently thought it possible, though six years were to pass before the Declaration of Independence, that the American colonies would attempt to support their views by armed force, and thus wrote to Lord Hillsborough. In such case France would probably come to their assistance, when Canada would be the principal scene, so Carleton imagined, of the critical struggle, and Canada in the hands of France would be no longer, as of old, the enemy of the British provinces but their ally and protector. Carleton could not then realize how anxious, and rightly anxious, the Americans would be to give France no excuse for re-occupying her ancient territory. He pointed out the disadvantage Canada as a British province would be under in such an eventuality, unless they did something practical to win the allegiance of the French-Canadians. On the other hand he indicated how ardently Canada might permanently support British interests on the American continent, in view of the fact that she was not united in any common principle with the other provinces in their already budding opposition to the supreme government. Carleton indeed is repeatedly admonishing the home

government to the effect that one of these alternatives is necessary for the security of the colony in the course of a war which he already foresees—either a great force of troops or some method of attaching the population to the Crown. How true was his foreboding and how consistent his application of the latter principle is a matter of history and common knowledge. In all this secret correspondence both Hillsborough and the king himself cordially approved of Carleton's recommendations and regarded them as "of the utmost use in assisting those plans now under deliberation on the propriety and necessity of extending to that brave and faithful people a reasonable participation in those establishments which are to form the bases of the future government of the province of Quebec." But Hillsborough feared that the clamours and prejudices which attacked every measure, however judicious, would make the question of military service a difficult one, though personally he quite agreed that the experiment should be tried.

Maurice Morgan was all this time investigating the legal difficulties of the colony with the assistance of Masères and others. Carleton viewed with concern the abuses that were inevitable to the situation and set himself to cure some that were not so. Among the last were the scandalous methods pursued by many justices of the peace to excite litigation among the people for the sake of the fees accruing to themselves. Those who prospered in business

could not spare the time to sit in court, while such as "from accidents or ill-judged undertakings became bankrupts sought to repair their broken fortunes at the expense of the people." These precious justices employed bailiffs of doubtful character, disbanded French soldiers or deserters, and virtually entered into collusion with them, dispersing them throughout the parishes armed with blank citations. Their rôle was to promote factious litigation and to catch at every little feud or dissension among the people, and encourage suits in cases which might easily be amicably settled were the parties left to themselves. The unfortunate *habitants* were then mulcted in costs far beyond the value of the often trifling sums they were incited to sue for; with ruin as the result in innumerable cases. Carleton declared "there was not a Protestant butcher or publican that became bankrupt who did not apply to be made a justice. They cantoned themselves upon the country and many of them rode the people with despotic sway, imposed fines which they turned to their own profit, and in a manner regarded themselves as the legislators of the province. Three or four hundred families have been turned out of their houses, land sold for not one eighth of its value, debtors ruined and debts still undischarged, fees absorbing everything." Carleton himself ordered the release of a number of imprisoned debtors whose liabilities averaged about two pounds apiece! In one of the many tours he took through

the country the outcry of the people concerning these abuses was general and bitter.

Imprisonment for debt was a new experience to the *habitants*. A respected and venerable French captain of militia wrote a letter to Carleton setting forth the situation in simple but trenchant terms. "Every day may be seen only suit upon suit for nothing; for twenty or thirty score suits are entered which usually amount up to forty, fifty or sixty livres, owing to the multitude of expenses heaped on these poor people by bailiffs appointed by the authority of the justices of the peace. These bailiffs are instigators of unjust suits. They entice the poor people who know nothing of the matter to get suits against each other. These writs the bailiffs carry in blank, which require only the addition of the name of the plaintiff and defendant and the date of appearance. I send one as a curiosity for your Excellency to judge by of it. It often happens that a single person has several citations to answer at different courts on the same day, and this being impossible he is condemned by default. Thereupon the bailiffs seize, carry off and sell everything these poor men may be possessed of. Frequently when these alleged bailiffs go to make a seizure should there be no one in the house and the doors locked they break open the door to get in; and these manifold robberies reduce the poor peasant to the lowest beggary. If the goods seized and carried off are not sufficient to discharge the multitude of costs laid on

for the travelling costs of the bailiffs and otherwise, a warrant of imprisonment is obtained, and thus after having been robbed of all they have and possess in the world, their furniture as well as their cattle, these persons are finally laid hold of as a guarantee, that the tyranny may be complete. I should never finish were I to attempt giving the whole story of the sad situation in which these poor people are placed, who are very tractable and whom I have guided for the space of twenty-five years as captain and very often as judge."

This was no highly coloured picture. The report of the government committee on the administration of justice, prepared for the Crown and issued in September 1769, and approved by Carleton and his council, amply endorses the old French captain's evidence, quoting among other instances one where the expense of collecting a debt of eleven livres amounted to eighty! It is not surprising that the blessings of English civil law as administered by the British community from Quebec and Montreal were not wholly appreciated by the French-Canadians, to the infinite prejudice of many undoubted benefits of British rule. As a remedy to this iniquitous state of things Carleton caused a fresh ordinance to be passed and approved by the king early in 1770, the object of which was to give cheap and honest justice in all such cases. The power of the magistrates in suits affecting personal and real property was withdrawn or curtailed.

Something similar to the "Homestead Exemption Act" now in use in the United States was enacted, protecting the peasant against seizure of certain necessaries of life and industry, and no execution was to be issued for sums of less than twelve pounds against land or houses. Proper courts were instituted for all these transactions. The ordinance created a great outcry among British traders and a deputation waited upon Carleton presenting a long table of objections. But Carleton stood firm in the fact that more respectable and industrious peasants had been ruined by this chicanery than there were British residents in the whole of Canada. The outraged magistrates, among whom Carleton admitted were some most worthy men, made a violent struggle for the repeal of the ordinances, and issued handbills calling a meeting of the people to discuss grievances, importuning and even insulting some French-Canadians because they would not join them.

The agitation for a House of Assembly that had been so lively in Murray's time was less pronounced under Carleton, but it never wholly ceased. In 1768 a petition in favour of it was taken round for signature, but the French seigniors, in spite of some plausible modifications of the Protestant monopoly, were wholly against it, while the *habitant* had as yet not the faintest perception of its meaning. Carleton's views on the subject may be inferred from his frequently written opinions of the men who would comprise such a parliament, and need no further

definition. Even if this fraction of the population had been of a good representative type in breeding and education, the absurdity of their attempt to impose their will on the colony would seem obvious enough. Nor again, to take a lower motive, could any colonial governor with ordinary official interest have been anxious to reproduce on Canadian soil the wranglings that distinguished the capital of nearly every American province at that moment. Carleton, however, conscious of his own integrity, his knowledge of men and keen desire to be just and impartial, could scarcely have regarded the agitation of the British handful in Canada for such monopoly without contempt. He was always courteous, however, even to those who he had reason to think ill deserved courtesy, and we find few complaints of the snubs which the hotter-headed Murray administered to his tormentors.

Morgan and Masères sailed for England in 1770, about the same time, with full reports on the state of the province. Both men were to prove useful in drafting the new constitution which was to be considered at some length in London.

CHAPTER III

THE QUEBEC ACT

CARLETON soon after this returned himself to England, but in the meantime we have anticipated somewhat, and must take note of some of the minor incidents and duties that helped to occupy the busy hours of his first four years of office in Canada. His deputy-governorship ended in 1768, when Murray resigned his titular appointment, a detail, however, without significance in our story. The troubles which were seething in the provinces to the south had affected Canada as yet but little. The Stamp Act and all that followed was a trifling matter among the more vital issues which agitated the Canadians. While the New Englanders were concerned with the rights of man and splitting hairs on constitutional questions, they were smuggling rum into Canada and sorely interfering with the revenue on wines and spirits which Carleton was anxious to raise, both on account of his meagre budget and for reasons moral and sanitary. The two chief questions, however, which stood out in Canadian politics, after the more pressing ones relating to legal and military matters, were the Church and the western fur trade with all its Indian complications. Everything concerning the former was under con-

sideration pending the settlement of the affairs of the colony, and in Carleton's opinion it required most delicate handling. The Jesuits had been constantly importuning him for the recovery of their property and influence. The bishop and clergy sent a petition to England in favour of retaining their services for the education of youth and for missions among the Indians, for which last duties they had been accustomed, before the conquest, to receive fourteen thousand livres a year from the king of France. The bishop, Briand, was a loyal and quiet living man, and Carleton writes that far from maintaining any undue state and pretention, as certain persons had reported, he had modest quarters at the seminary at Quebec, even feeding at the common table. He had especially repudiated any pomp and ceremony when he came out, contemporaneously with Carleton, professing only to be an ordainer of priests and wearing a plain black gown, to be exchanged in time, however, for the purple robe and the golden cross—the usual insignia of the Roman Episcopate.

The Indian war in Murray's time had materially upset the western trade. The posts had been reoccupied and secured, but Carleton had constant troubles in dealing with the complaints of the Montreal merchants against the way in which the trade permits and rules were interpreted by the officers of the posts. The French-Canadians in the west were always suspected of intriguing against the British power, while the interests of Canada were materially

opposed to those of New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, whose traders were in a sense her rivals. Carleton had applied for leave to return to England on private affairs for a brief period in 1769. The moment, however, not seeming propitious, he had postponed his departure and it was not till August in the following year that he left Canada. He went home nominally for six months but there was much to be done in framing the new constitution. His advice was indispensable and he remained four years. His deputy in Canada was the lieutenant-governor Cramahé, the Swiss officer already frequently mentioned who had done good work as a councillor throughout the administrations of both Murray and Carleton. He had been Murray's secretary and was most highly thought of by that officer, and as we know had been sent on a mission to London to represent the condition of the province to the British government. He had also been governor of Three Rivers, between Quebec and Montreal.

Shortly before leaving his government Carleton sent home a report on the manufactures of the country. We gather from this that flax was generally cultivated, but was mainly utilized by the people for a coarse linsey-woolsey, woven of wool and thread for the clothing of the men. All caps were imported from England. A coarse earthenware was in use and some tanneries were producing an indifferent kind of leather; the best leather being

[1] See appendix L.

imported from the British colonies. The forges at St. Maurice turned out forty thousand weight of bar iron annually. Edge tools and axes of a serviceable kind for both whites and Indians were manufactured. A small business in pearl-ash and potash with a rum distillery complete the list. Carleton says nothing of the timber which must have been an article of trade, masts for the navy being one item of export.

For the next four years Carleton was watching over the interests of the Canadians, while measures, momentous in their consequences to the latter, were being discussed and prepared. The Canadians at home under the sufficiently able direction of Cramahé were awaiting those ordinances which were to decide their future with a patience arising from their confidence in a speedy settlement. There would be little to say of the colony during Carleton's absence, even were the subject quite relevant to the title of this book, except that it pursued a tolerably uneventful life, in spite of the chaotic conditions of its legal machinery. The British party presented another petition for a representative assembly and persuaded a few of their French fellow-subjects to confer with them on the subject, but the presence of eight of them at the conference was the limit of their coöperation. They could not persuade, even had they wished, any more of their people to evince an enthusiasm for a parliament chosen from four hundred British-American Protestants. Ninety-one of the latter, only five of them being freeholders,

signed the petition, but Cramahé replied that it was too important a matter for a lieutenant-governor to decide. This seems only to have been expected, and another petition, somewhat more cautiously framed as regards the exclusion of Roman Catholics, was sent to the king with one hundred and fifty-eight signatures, mainly British. The French had decided to forward a petition of their own. This, however, bore only about fifty signatures and related mainly to matters legal and lingual, for it is hardly necessary to reiterate that the French-Canadians had little interest in representative government, though the document advanced a claim for civil and military employment. It did, indeed, suggest an assembly, but only on condition of a full representation of the French-Canadians. The desire even for this was expressed in luke-warm fashion, either from the lack of political fervour which distinguished the petitioners at that time, or from a feeling that such a concession was hopeless from a British government. But they evinced no such indifference regarding the prospect of a Protestant parliament, for the seigniors were "utterly unwilling to consent to a House of Assembly from which they should be excluded." They prayed for their own laws, hinting at the financial benefit this would be to the government on account of the feudal dues and profits accruing to it under the old custom. They prayed also for the restoration of Labrador to Canada as well as those portions of the West which

the country had lost since it became a British province.

Carleton on reaching England found that his own views, formed on long experience, were practically identical with those of the home authorities derived from equity and theory. Yorke and de Grey, attorney-general and solicitor-general some years before, had already pronounced in a long and learned report against "new and unnecessary and arbitrary rules (especially as to the titles of land, mode of descent, alienation and settlement) which would tend to confound and subvert rights, instead of supporting them." Now in 1772 Thurlow the attorney-general, and Wedderburne solicitor-general, argued on the same lines, declaring the French-Canadians entitled by the *jus gentium* to their property, as they possessed it upon the treaty of peace, together with all its qualities and incidents by tenure or otherwise. Dr. Marriott, the advocate-general, was of the same opinion, and agreed with the others in thinking it inexpedient under the circumstances to call an assembly. Masères alone was somewhat opposed to Carleton, taking the view that the *habitants* on the whole were in favour of English law, as it gave them relief from the "insolent and capricious treatment of their superiors" (the seigniors). He thought they would have expressed this opinion freely but from the fear that their religion would be endangered.

Masères' strong prejudices as well as his un-

doubted integrity and abilities have been already noticed. He had the honesty, however, to avow in answer to a query of Lord North's, that he did not think certain points of English procedure would be followed even if they were introduced. Chief-Justice Hey and de Lotbinière, a prominent French-Canadian, also rendered assistance with their advice. Four years seems a long period for the consideration, drafting, and passing of the Quebec Act, a measure which Bourinot calls "the charter of the special privileges which the French-Canadians have enjoyed ever since." But it was not till May 17th, 1774, that the Act was introduced into the House of Lords, a procedure which offended some members of the Lower House and gave them an excuse for taking a brief part in the discussion. But few were qualified to share in it, and but a meagre House took the trouble either to listen or to vote. Carleton was of course greatly in evidence throughout the whole of this protracted business and, when the bill came down to the Commons, was called as the leading witness, together with Chief-Justice Hey, Masères, de Lotbinière and Marriott.

The delimitation of Canada was the weakest part of the bill, for it practically followed the old lines of the French claims extending through contentious territory, outraging the geographical susceptibilities, if not the rights, of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and terminating at the Mississippi, while to the northward the Hudson's Bay Company's territory was

the far away limit to this immense region. Canada beyond a doubt in matters of constructive legislation should have been limited to the more immediately occupied regions, terminating, say, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The West, virtually untouched as yet but by hunters, traders, and garrisons, should have been retained under temporary administration to await future lines of development.[1] The emigration of the United Empire Loyalists settled this question in a satisfactory but unlooked-for way. As it was, those who were hostile to the retention by the French of their laws and religion had some reason in objecting to their establishment over millions of fertile acres yet untouched.

The Quebec Act, speaking broadly, gave sanction and definition to existing usages rather than to new ones—full freedom of religion to the Roman Catholics together with recognition of the ancient means of collecting dues. In all the branches of civil law the Canadian custom was preserved, while the criminal code of England being more merciful and already popular with the French subjects, was confirmed in perpetual use. An assembly was for the present withheld, the administration to be continued vested in a governor with executive and legislative council to consist of not less than seventeen nor more than twenty-three members.[2]

This was the drift of the Act. The minor clauses,

[1] See appendix M.

[2] See appendix N.

conventional or precautionary, are of slight moment here. There was a great deal of opposition. The self-interest of a few in England, the religious prejudices of the many, the wrath of the British-American colonies, were stirred to the depths. The debate on the bill continued through the 6th, 7th, 8th and 10th of June. It was carried in committee by eighty-three to forty and on the third reading was carried by fifty-six to twenty. On June 18th, 1774, it was sent back to the Lords and immediately passed, though opposed by Chatham, by twenty to seven votes.

Some of the comments of members and scraps of the evidence of Carleton and his witnesses merit notice. Among the former Mr. Dunning remarked that he would as soon see the country restored to France at once as that arbitrary government should be set up at the back of the colonies where people going in would pass from liberty to despotism. The liberty-loving Mr. Dunning, however, would have cheerfully consigned the lives and liberties of nearly one hundred thousand old inhabitants to the dominion of a few hundred somewhat ill-qualified strangers. There was much more logic in his suggestion, however foolishly expressed, that the vast wilderness about to be added to Quebec by a British Act of parliament would be claimed on that account by France should a retrocession of Canada ever become a question of policy or necessity, and still more in his criticism of the wide geographical extension of the Act.

Lord North said that a legislature was withheld from the lack of eligible people. Mr. Townshend desired a government for Canada, not a despotism, a government, that is, by a Protestant faction. This gives to us of the twentieth century another curious instance of the mental attitude of the eighteenth century British Protestant. It is only perhaps when quite fresh from an excursion into the century preceding that it is possible to feel such a measure of sympathy with these people as is unquestionably their due. The error of judging them from a modern standpoint is too elementary a one perhaps to call for mention. The French government had shewn itself to be even less liberal in matters of religion than our own worst-seeming bigots proposed to be. The attorney-general, Thurlow, on the other hand, thought it unjust to compel the French to use English laws of property and inheritance. Sergeant Glyn considered the nation bound to conform to the generous measures of the king's proclamation of 1763. Wedderburne, the solicitor-general, opined that to force English law upon the Canadians would prove a curse. Fox objected to the Lords having taken the initiative in introducing the bill and professed a proper horror of popery. Two or three members wasted what was really valuable time as the session was closing in discussing the arrogance of the House of Lords in this matter, and asked the speaker for his opinion, whereat that official snubbed them with heat and

decision. Colonel Barré declared it to be preposterous to suppose that the Canadians would fail to recognize the superiority of good and just (i.e., English) laws. Another member on the behalf of Pennsylvania complained that the limits of the new province cut right through their territory, but he was assured by North that vested interests would be protected.

Messrs. Mackworth and Townshend demanded that the written opinions of the Canadians and British law officials should be produced, and found many supporters. It was answered that at so late a period the delay would be fatal, whereupon Burke remarked that the delay of a year would be a less evil than to pass a bill without proper information. It was urged that the verbal information to be given by Carleton and other witnesses would be desultory compared to these opinions. Two witnesses from Canada were examined on behalf of the London merchants who affirmed that Canadians as well as English were anxious for English law and trial by jury. Carleton then gave evidence to the effect that Canadians were willing enough for English criminal law, but in other respects objected to a code of which they were ignorant, embodied in a language they did not understand. They were ready enough for the latter when it happened to favour their particular case. As regards an assembly, the French, said Carleton, felt little interest in it, while the Protestants were neither numerous enough nor

sufficiently eligible. A characteristic incident occurred during the governor's examination when North asked him if he knew aught of a certain Le Brun. "Yes!" said the downright proconsul, "I know him very well. He was a blackguard at Paris and sent as a lawyer to Canada, where he gained an exceedingly bad character in many respects, was taken up and imprisoned for an assault on a young girl eight or nine years old, was fined twenty pounds, but not being able to pay it he was—"

Townshend here interfered and Carleton was asked to withdraw the statement. Then Lord North explained that Le Brun was sent over to represent Canadians in favour of an assembly and English laws, and that it was necessary to know what sort of a man he was. Carleton had probably said enough. Hey differed somewhat from his chief, and thought a blending of the French and English civil code was the best method. Masères spoke in somewhat the same strain. The *habitants* objected to juries on the score of expense which could easily be arranged by a small compensation. Any alteration in the laws of inheritance or land would be offensive to them. They could not, however, object to the *habeas corpus*, while as regards the assembly they had but dim ideas of what it meant. De Lotbinière said that if their land laws remained untouched he thought they would be contented enough with the remainder of the English code. He had never heard the assembly much discussed but thought they

would be satisfied if the *noblesse* were admitted. Marriott, the advocate-general, though his written opinions were clear enough, proved such a sphinx under examination that Colonel Barré declared: "There's no hitting this gentleman."

The corporation of London now appealed to the king to withhold his signature from the bill, professing themselves greatly alarmed for the safety of their Protestant fellow-subjects in the province. That "wonderful effort of human wisdom," trial by jury, not being provided for (in civil cases), they urged that the bill was a breach of the promises made to the British settlers when invited into the province and not in harmony with the promises of His Majesty's declaration of 1763. They deny that any laws or statutes can be ordained for the said province other than those in use in England. King George is reminded of his coronation oath to maintain the Protestant religion, and that his family was called to the throne for that purpose to the exclusion of the Stuart line, that the Roman Catholic religion is known to be idolatrous and bloody, and that the said bill was brought in late in the session when most of the members had retired into the country. It does not seem to have occurred to any of these people that the reconstruction of a community alien in blood and spirit and of ancient origin could not be achieved after the fashion of another Georgia or Virginia, and that no such conditions as now faced the rulers of Canada had been

contemplated by those who held these precepts for British people.

In considering this bill it must be remembered that two things had to be taken into account: the troubled state of the American colonies which made the attachment of the French indispensable, and the probability that the country would remain homogeneously French. To judge of this question by English standards is idle. There is a type of mind so wedded to popular shibboleths that it gives but grudging assent to the success of Carleton and to the Quebec Act in saving Canada. The English settlers, mainly traders, had a bad reputatation, and increased slowly, while the French were prolific. The forecast was justified in providing for the attachment of a French province, rather than for a possible inrush of British immigration that before the war did not seem a likely eventuality.

As for the British colonies, the attitude of the recently summoned congress towards the new Act is always one of the most entertaining incidents in American history; for in formulating their grievances against the Crown, the liberal treatment of the French in leaving them their religion had been a burning indictment against king and Commons, and floods of indignation were poured out against the Catholic Church. A famous document declared that the new Act gave legality to a religion which had flooded England with blood, and had spread hypocrisy, murder, persecution, and revolt into all

parts of the world. This address was circulated throughout the American colonies as a useful stimulant to resistance, and the injury was coupled in Philadelphia with that of the closing of the port of Boston. The reader would not be human who could regard without a smile the endearing address of congress in the autumn of 1774 to the French-Canadians, in which its members recall their joy in 1763, when the King of England granted the Canadians all the rights of Englishmen, in addition to the privileges of their "bloodthirsty, idolatrous, and hypocritical creed," as formerly designated.

The Quebec Act and its indulgences to popish slaves was even now being used as a stick for King George's back in New England, New York, and Philadelphia, by the same men who were shedding documentary tears of a crocodile nature for the woes of the French-Canadians. The latter were treated to a lengthy disquisition, indicating under various heads the ideals without which they could neither be free nor happy. The tenure of land in Canada was a monstrous anachronism, so the Canadians were told, in complete oblivion of the fact that this was a concession from, not an imposition by, "this infamous and tyrannical ministry." They were loaded with sympathy for this criminal withholding of juries, and the misery of existence without them; though this very deprivation was a concession to their own prejudices. They were told in elaborate and bombastic periods

what they ought to do, and what they ought to want, in order to become good Englishmen, and whether they were or not they ought to be profoundly miserable, and that their brethren of the other provinces (who had never before in history had a good word for them), were grievously moved at their degradation. Without an assembly, (of Protestants, of course), they would be slaves. There was no guarantee that even the inquisition might not be set up among them! The addressers knew the liberal spirit of the French-Canadians too well to imagine that religious matters would prejudice them against a hearty amity with themselves. From cajolery the address then proceeded to threats, reminding them of their insignificance, and asked them to choose whether they would be regarded as friends by the rest of the continent or as "inveterate enemies."

This address was translated into French, and circulated among the Canadians, a process made easy by the number of English in Montreal and Quebec who sympathized with the Americans, of whom many were already in the province as political propagandists. The Canadians in short were invited to choose delegates to meet the rest at Philadelphia. The peasantry might be bamboozled with all this, and to a great extent were, but the clergy not so. They had not forgotten the hard words used about them in 1763, and they were aware of the insults heaped on their religion within the last few weeks.

Above all they had every reason to be grateful to the British government, and as many reasons to dislike and distrust the British colonists. The seigniors had almost as good cause to reject these unblushing overtures, and did so to a man, as we shall see. That immortal composition, "Will you walk into my parlour said the spider to the fly," was written for another political occasion, and at another period, but had it been included in the education of the more instructed French-Canadians of that day, it would, no doubt, have leaped to the lips of all of them and been much in vogue.

CHAPTER IV

CARLETON'S MARRIAGE

ALMOST immediately on the passing of the Quebec Act Carleton sailed for Canada and landed on September 18th, 1774. During his long stay in England he had married the Lady Maria Howard, daughter of the Earl of Effingham, who with her two children born of the marriage accompanied her husband across the Atlantic. The lady was less than half Carleton's age, which was now forty-eight. A family tradition attributes the fact of Carleton's remaining so long unmarried to an early disappointment in a love affair with his cousin, Jane Carleton. The circumstances of his marriage were somewhat singular, and were given to me by the present representative of the family. Lord Howard of Effingham, then a widower, was a great personal friend of Carleton's, and of about the same age. On this account and also foreseeing for him a distinguished career, he cordially accepted his overtures for the hand of his eldest daughter, Lady Anne. She and her younger sister, Lady Maria, had seen a great deal of Sir Guy at their father's house, and doubtless regarded him as a benevolent uncle rather than a potential lover. In time, however, they became aware that other schemes were

abroad, and on a certain occasion when Carleton arrived at the house and was closeted with his Lordship it seems to have been pretty well understood what he had come for. The two young ladies were sitting together in another apartment with a relative, a Miss Seymour, and when a message came to Lady Anne that her presence was required by her father its purport seems to have been well known. When this young lady returned to her friends her eyes were red from tears. The others, waiting impatiently for her news, were the more impatient as well as perplexed at her woe-begone appearance. "Your eyes would be red," she replied to their queries, "if you had just had to refuse the best man on earth."

"The more fool you," was the unsympathetic rejoinder of her younger sister, Lady Maria. "I only wish he had given me the chance."

It appears that Lady Anne was already in love with Carleton's nephew, whom she afterwards married and who served under his uncle in Canada.

There the matter rested for some months till Miss Seymour one day confided to Sir Guy what Lord Howard's younger daughter had remarked on hearing of his discomfiture. This so much interested the middle-aged lover, who, no doubt, had recovered from a perhaps not very violent passion, that in due course he presented himself as a suitor for the younger daughter, who proved herself as good as her word. Miss Seymour who lived to old age used

to tell the story to members of the Dorchester family who only passed away in comparatively recent years.

Lady Maria was small and fair, upright and extremely dignified, and was ceremonious to a degree that in her old age almost amounted to eccentricity. She had been brought up and educated at Versailles, which may be held to account for her partiality for the French at Quebec, and may possibly have influenced her husband in the same direction.

Soon after landing Carleton wrote to Dartmouth, now secretary, that he found the king's Canadian subjects impressed with the strongest sense of His Majesty's goodness towards them in the matter of the late bill, and manifesting a strong desire to show themselves not unworthy of the treatment accorded to them. Events to the south, however, which were destined in great measure to upset the governor's sanguine, and justifiably sanguine, expectations, were hurrying forward. For while he was still upon the ocean the first congress had met at Philadelphia and formulated three petitions: one to the king, another to the British public, and that other one to the Canadians already alluded to Carleton had come back armed with definite machinery for the administration of a province which he had already handled successfully with inefficient weapons. For good or ill the new instrument had been moulded in almost exact accordance with his wishes. But a

war cloud was now rising to the southward which was destined for the moment completely to obscure domestic matters of a peaceful kind. The rôle of wise but beneficent administrator was not yet to be that of Carleton, who was soon to find himself committed to a life and death struggle against desperate odds for the very possession of the colony.

Whatever the wisdom of the Quebec Act, as a matter of domestic policy there is little doubt but that it saved Canada to the British Crown, or rather enabled a resolute commander to perform what at one time seemed a hopeless task. The French population as a whole, it is true, quite failed to justify the reasonable expectations formed of them. But had the Act been so framed that their grievances were real and appealed to their enlightened class, instead of being merely the groundless fears of a deluded peasantry, things would have been much worse even than they were, while a better spirit among the handful of Anglo-American traders would have been of small account amid the clash of arms.

Almost the first letters Carleton received after his return were from General Gage, at Boston, requesting him to despatch there the 10th and 52nd Regiments, a proceeding which left the governor with less than a thousand regulars in the colony. The French subjects, however, took the earliest opportunity of presenting addresses expressing satisfaction with the Act. Even the British of Quebec, in

part at least, followed suit, for partisan feeling was less bitter and pronounced there than in Montreal, whose population, by this time numerically equal to that of the capital, showed little but dissatisfaction. At Montreal meetings were held for the redress of grievances; Walker, smarting with the memory of his injuries, being foremost among the fire-brands, which included one Livingstone, of the famous New York family, who had settled in the neighbourhood as a merchant. Several of these malcontents came to Quebec, greatly to Carleton's disgust, and successfully stimulated the less active discontent of their co-religionists in that city. Letters of sympathy poured in from the colonies, brought in many cases by the hand of political agents who added their insidious eloquence to that of the local orators.[1] Meetings were held after the New England fashion, while missions for fomenting discontent among the *habitants* were privately organized and conducted under the cloak of rural trade. Two clauses of the Quebec Act unfortunately lent themselves readily to misrepresentation; *i.e.*, the legalizing of the tithe which had continued by custom rather than law since the conquest, and the retention of the old French land laws which left to the seigniors such modified control of their estates as they had hitherto enjoyed.

The first could without serious mendacity be pressed home upon the *habitants* as a grievance. As

[1] See appendix O.

to the other matter it was represented that the seigniors had now acquired more than their ancient rights and would revive the *corvées* and other obsolete privileges with more than their former vigour. The agitators multiplied the salaries of the new officials for which the country was to be taxed by ten and sometimes twenty-fold, and went in and out of the thatched and whitewashed houses of the peasantry under the pretense of trade, assuring the people that they would all be miserable slaves liable at any moment to be arrested under *lettres de cachet*, and that their only hope of salvation lay in allowing the American troops a peaceful entry into the country. The *noblesse* on account of their preserved prestige, the notaries who for every reason were attached to the French civil code, and most of the few French *bourgeoisie* were practically secured to the Crown. The clergy were even more attached to it by the late bill, and the priests, one need hardly say, were the most formidable factor whom the emissaries of sedition among their flocks had to encounter. Official Canada with Carleton at its head regarded them as a bulwark of security. It was no fault of theirs that they proved otherwise. The bounds of *habitant* credulity had not yet been fathomed by the new rulers.

By November the "ancient subjects" of Quebec had worked themselves, or been worked up, to the delivery of a petition against the new Act, and throughout the winter the propaganda of sedition

in the country districts was conducted with unabated zeal and remarkable effect. Dark threats were sometimes thrown out by these emissaries of freedom against a rejection of their gospel, and as an alternative to embracing its blessings wholesale an army of fifty thousand men was to enter Canada and with fire and sword lay waste the parishes from Gaspé to Montreal.

The Act was to be put in force on May 1st, 1775. In January Carleton received a despatch enclosing instructions and commissions from Dartmouth, who hoped that a meeting of council might be held before the date of formal inauguration to settle the minor offices, leaving the judicial appointments and ecclesiastical affairs till the arrival of Hey who was coming out, though for a short time only, as chief-justice. Carleton writes to his government that he has grave fears for the effect on the mind of the peasantry caused by sedition-mongers who are moving in such numbers and of set purpose among them. The gentry, he says, are ready enough to serve, but do not relish commanding a militia whose spirit has so obviously changed. As to the peasantry the government had no longer the same hold over them as formerly, the feudal and official influence being greatly weakened. To embody them suddenly and march them off as a militia, even if they would march, would give colour to the stories of impending impression so sedulously circulated by British-American intriguers.

The Act, Carleton intimates, was after all only a foundation for settlement; the whole system of government had to be cast in a new form.

On May 1st, the date of its inauguration, the king's bust in Montreal was daubed black and decorated with a necklace of potatoes, a cross and placard bearing the inscription, "*Voilà le Pape du Canada et le sot Anglais.*" Large sums were offered for the discovery of the culprit. The French upper class were especially indignant, one of them offering a hundred pounds for the arrest of the offender. Personal encounters arising from the incident took place in the streets. It was a strange situation. A clear majority of the British residents—of whom most, it must be remembered, were of American birth—were ripe for revolt, while every Frenchman of the better class was eager to serve the king. The mass of the peasantry was supine, bewildered, suspicious, but so far as one may learn, determined at the moment to stand aloof or to assist the rebels.

During the month of May, 1775, news arrived in Canada that active hostilities had broken out, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, those ancient bases of attack on Canada, having been seized by the rebels, together with the armed craft on Lake Champlain. Carleton in reporting it to the home government had the melancholy consolation of referring to letters written by himself to Gage sometime before, in which he had urged the importance of securing these posts against all risk of surprise.

It was that rude but vigorous Vermonter, Ethan Allen, one need hardly remind the reader, who had accomplished this eminently serviceable but in no way perilous feat. Ticonderoga was garrisoned by an officer and about forty men who were scarcely alive to the serious state of affairs beyond the woods and waters to the southward. It was on the night of May 10th, that Allen with two hundred and fifty men behind him demanded admission to the fort, stating that he had despatches for the commandant. The guard, all unsuspicious, and moreover acquainted with Allen, whose men were invisible, opened the gates, whereat the Vermonters rushed in and secured the soldiers in their beds. After this Crown Point, a few miles away and occupied by a sergeant with half a dozen men, was summoned and had no choice but to surrender. A large supply of cannon and ammunition was here obtained, and the forts were occupied by provincials. The only armed vessel on the lake was next seized and Benedict Arnold, making his first appearance at this early stage of the war with a colonel's commission, sailed the vessel up Lake Champlain with an accompanying flotilla of bateaux to Fort St. Johns on the Richelieu River, twenty miles above its outlet. The object of this visit was the capture of an armed sloop, which Arnold brought away, together with a dozen unsuspecting soldiers who occupied the fort.

Carleton was at Quebec when the news of these

doings arrived at Montreal by the agency of Moses Hazen, who had been a distinguished partisan officer in the French wars and was now farming near St. Johns. The city was stirred to a high pitch of excitement. Colonel Templer of the 26th Regiment, to which the captured detachments of the lake forts belonged, was in command, and at once despatched Major Preston with one hundred and forty men of the same corps to St. Johns which was found deserted. Allen himself had occupied it in the interval, departing only on the approach of the British. But for the warning of a disaffected Montreal merchant, one Bindon, Allen and his men would probably have been cut off. By this same person Allen sent a request for five hundred pounds worth of provisions, ammunition and liquor to those "friendly to the cause" in the city. Bindon, moreover, would have led Preston's detachment into an ambush but for an accident, for which friendly intention the enraged soldiers in Montreal seized and would have hanged the unfortunate man had it not been for the interference of their officers.

Templer now called a general meeting, at which it was decided that volunteers should be raised in companies of thirty, six prominent Canadians undertaking their formation. Fifty French-Canadian youths of family enrolled themselves at once, and marched at Preston's request to St. Johns, which they proceeded to occupy. Carleton, when he received the news which affirmed that there were five

hundred provincials on Lake Champlain, and one thousand five hundred on the way there, despatched every soldier from Quebec save a few recruits, sending them mainly to the chief point of danger and attack, St. Johns, a poor ill-defended fort, but in a sense the key of Canada. He himself then hurried to Montreal, and on June 7th did his official duty, and at the same time gave vent to his personal feelings in a letter to Dartmouth. After alluding to the events above narrated, he proceeded to say that although the *noblesse* were full of zeal, neither the peasantry nor Indians would come forward. The consternation was universal; the province was unprepared for attack or defence; and there were not six hundred rank and file along the whole course of the river, nor a single armed ship. The minds of the people were poisoned with lies, and, but for the few regular troops, three hundred rebels might have seized all the provisions and arms in the province and kept post at St Johns. Within the last few days, however, the Canadians and Indians had shown signs of returning to their senses. The gentry and clergy had been very useful, but both had lost much of their influence. He proposed to call out the militia, but doubted if he could succeed in view of the seditious conduct of the British-American people in the province, for the Habeas Corpus Act and the English criminal laws were being used as arms against the State. He expresses in this letter a natural longing at this moment for the powers

possessed in Canada by the old governors, and finally encloses intercepted letters from Allen and Arnold to Walker and Morrison in Montreal and to the Indians at Caughnawaga.

Martial law was now proclaimed and the militia called out, a severe test on the allegiance of the reluctant *habitant* with the memory of the old French levies still tolerably fresh within him. But it was Carleton's only hope, though a slender one enough it may well have seemed, for the peasantry of the district had not responded to the less regular but urgent call of their seigniors and priests, and had sometimes refused with insolence. The proclamation of martial law was fiercely opposed by the British-Canadian Whigs, if I may so style them, with the argument that the Americans intended to let Canada severely alone so long as she remained neutral, but that every attempt to raise the militia would be taken as a threat to invade the northern provinces. This would have been plausible enough but for the fact that the Americans had secured, and were well aware of it, the inefficiency of the Canadian rank and file even as a defensive force and never took them into account at all as potential invaders. Furthermore the decision to invade Canada, arrived at in the summer of 1775, was with a view to prevent the colony from becoming the base of attack for a fresh British army, and the capture of Quebec, coupled with wholesale promises to the Canadian peasantry in their present condition, would have

gone far towards achieving this result. Carleton at any rate had not the slightest doubt of their intentions and in his desperate straits had no time for the sophistries of village lawyers or partisan pamphleteers.

Apart from all other considerations a peremptory call to arms could not have been other than distasteful to a rural people who had experienced more than enough of fighting under their own monarch, when native resentment and race hatred had been a powerful stimulant. As a further deterrent the once hated Bastonnais were stumping through the parishes and protesting that the measure of ease and freedom the *habitant* now enjoyed was slavery compared to the Utopia they were longing to create on the banks of the St. Lawrence. How could the simple Canadian peasant know that the only Utopia comprehended by the Bastonnais was one which meant the probable destruction of all the traditions, prejudices and customs that rightly or wrongly he held dear? It was in vain that the priests thundered from the pulpit, that the seigniors waved their swords and that Bishop Briand invoked their defence of their king and religion through the agency of every parish pulpit. A few meagre companies it is true were scraped together in the rural districts, but even these, for the most part, melted away through individual or wholesale desertion. As a class the *habitants* turned a persistently deaf ear to priests, to seigniors, and to officials. After all, it was a good

deal to ask of a peaceful farmer that he should leave his plough, his family and his home, and offer his breast to bullet and bayonet in a dispute he did not understand and the issue of which he might well believe would not materially affect him. Both sides were foreigners and heretics and it is not difficult to understand the sullen determination of the mass of Canadian peasantry to leave these mad Britons to fight out their incomprehensible quarrel alone.

Carleton was under no delusions, as his frequent letters to Dartmouth at this period bear ample testimony. He had scarcely any troops and very little money and only hoped the *habitants* would prove nothing worse than neutral. The British in Montreal, as a body, refused point blank to serve. Hey, however, who had accompanied Carleton thither, harangued them in such scathing fashion that many were shamed into the king's service while a few were always staunch. Guy Johnson too, nephew of the redoubtable Sir William, arrived from the Mohawk country about this time with three hundred of the Six Nation Indians. The Caughnawagas in similar strength had also been attached, and a grand council was held at which their services were accepted on the condition that they were not to fire till first fired upon. The chief value of the Indians was for scouting purposes, and upon this service they were soon despatched with orders to watch the Americans at Ticonderoga.

In mid-July having done all that was humanly

possible in Montreal and leaving Colonel Prescott in command, Carleton returned to Quebec. The Act had come into legal force on the first of May, but practically nothing had been yet done to get it into working order.

The notary Badeaux, who has written an account of the invasion, tells us that at Three Rivers the governor was entertained by Tonnancour, a wealthy Canadian trader, money-lender, landowner and militia colonel. Perceiving an armed Canadian promenading outside the window, Carleton inquired the cause and was told it was a guard of honour, whereupon he at once went out to the man and gave him a guinea as the first armed Canadian he had seen in the district. Tonnancour's son, it may be noted, raised a company in the locality and was very active in the British service. The same diarist tells us that most of the parishes in the Richelieu country showed a marked sympathy with the rebels. Some of them supplied a few men to the militia, while from others not a single combatant could be secured.

The feelings of Carleton as he sailed down the St. Lawrence to Quebec for the purpose of formally inaugurating a policy of which he had formed such high hopes may well claim our sympathy. The very people in whose interests he had so strenuously exerted himself had now turned upon him, in a negative sense at least, and in some districts in an active one, and had succumbed to the crafty

intrigue of those who had treated them with traditional contempt and to protect them against whom he had laboured amid much opposition. That this was mainly due to their unexampled credulity made the situation if anything perhaps more galling; for with such people the secret agitator is at a marked advantage over the highly placed proconsul, with whom truth and honour count for something, and with Carleton they counted for much.

On his arrival at Quebec Carleton encloses to the home government among other documents a fresh American address of sympathy to the Canadians, commencing with characteristic bombast: "The parent of the universe hath divided this earth among the children of men;" also a copy of a scrap of paper thrust under the doors of the *habitants* throughout the country,

> "Honi soit qui mal y pense
> À lui qui ne suivra le bon chemin.
> "Baston."

In truth a somewhat melancholy gathering must have been this opening of the first legislative council under the new Act on August 17th, 1775, with so obvious a possibility of its being the last.

Twenty-two members, including Cramahé as lieutenant-governor, met their chief on this depressing occasion. Eight of them were French-Canadians, for the oath of supremacy had been remitted in favour of an oath to which Roman Catholics could conscientiously subscribe. The oath of allegiance to

the king was followed by a clause renouncing all "equivocable mental evasion or secret reservation." Hey, as before mentioned, was chief-justice and among the other councillors were Saint Luc de La Corne, de Contrecœur, Hugh Finlay, Drummond, Dr. Mabane, Pownall, Allsopp and John Fraser. But a very few days, however, were permitted to the peaceful labours of the council, for with the opening of September imminent dangers from outside banished all thought of internal legislation; news arriving that the rebels, this time in much greater force, had crossed the border and were again on the Richelieu. Carleton at once hurried back to Montreal leaving Quebec of necessity as bare of troops as ever; but Quebec for the moment was regarded as secure from immediate danger. Instructions came from London too, about this time, which must have provoked the much harassed governor to a bitter smile. His Majesty, he was informed, relied on the zeal of his new Canadian subjects, and Carleton was authorized to raise a force of six thousand men, either to coöperate with Gage or to act independently, whichever course should seem advisable. Arms and money for half the number were already upon the sea. Whether it was a consolation to Carleton to learn that the court of Russia had evinced a practical sympathy for His Majesty's troubles in America, is problematical; but it was better hearing that a corps of twenty thousand infantry had been applied for, and that it was hoped to despatch a considerable number

of them to Canada in the spring, for Carleton held that Canada offered the best vantage ground for overawing the provinces,—an opinion which the designs of congress amply confirmed.

The king and his government had all this time a pathetic, if most natural, reliance on their much indulged Canadian subjects. As they had not even yet realized the temper or attitude of their own people in North America the *habitant* may well have remained an inscrutable item in their imperial survey. Carleton had also secret intelligence emanating from Governor Tryon of New York that three thousand troops from the middle and southern colonies, to be joined by as many more from New England, were to muster at Ticonderoga. He accordingly sent an urgent application to Gage for a couple of regiments. The despatch arrived a few hours after Gage had sailed for England, but Sir William Howe, now filling his place, promptly ordered a battalion and two transports to Quebec. Graves was then in command of the fleet and appears to have been, in spirit at least, a survivor of the ante-Chatham period when the chief object of the two services was to thwart each other to the utmost of their power, for he refused the ships, under the plea that an October voyage to Quebec was too difficult and dangerous. This was altogether too much even for Howe, not himself distinguished for prompt action in this lamentable struggle. But he was powerless, and could only vent his indig-

nation in a letter to Carleton and wish him well out of his scrape.

Carleton, though he saw nothing before him but ruin, had at least not lost the spirit which had early marked him out as one of "Pitt's young men." He had now some seven hundred troops of all ranks at Fort St. Johns under Preston, including five hundred of the 7th and 26th Regiments, one hundred and twenty Canadian volunteers, mostly French gentlemen, and a few artillerymen. There were eighty regulars too at Chambly under Major Stopford, while besides the handful at Montreal there were one hundred men of the Royal Emigrants, largely recruited from the Highland soldiers who had settled after the peace on the northern frontier of New York and at Murray Bay on the lower St. Lawrence, and became afterwards the 84th Regiment. They were raised and commanded by McLean, an able and zealous officer who did yeoman's service throughout this whole campaign.

CHAPTER V

MONTGOMERY AND ARNOLD

IT is generally conceded that the hand of congress had been somewhat forced by Ethan Allen and Arnold in their prompt seizure, during the spring of 1775, of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The inspiration at least had in this case been local rather than federal, and the exploit, which was creditable in a tactical rather than heroic sense, was at the time not admitted as having been authorized. Strong professions of reluctance to harass Canada were expressed at headquarters for some weeks afterwards, and we must remember that warlike acts during this whole summer were regarded, officially at any rate, as only a means to an advantageous reconciliation with the mother country. As the summer advanced, however, these views entirely changed for the excellent strategical reason already referred to, and others of common knowledge.

It was now regarded by Washington as of high importance that Canada should be occupied, an achievement which must have seemed at that time an extremely simple one. Carleton they all knew had to be reckoned with, and no one underrated him. His past record was familiar in America and his name spelled respect. But Carleton was no

magician; yet if he was not a Wolfe he was at least a Montcalm; for the rest the province lay bare and open save for seven or eight hundred regular troops, a few British Loyalists, and a handful of Canadian gentry. Ample evidence had been secured from innumerable and reliable sources that the peasantry would remain neutral at the best, and that they would furnish food and valuable transport assistance to the Americans even if they did not take up arms.

Congress, as Carleton had been rightly informed, had now seriously undertaken the invasion of Canada, though even Carleton was unaware that at the very moment he reached Montreal, Benedict Arnold with eleven hundred picked men was starting for the mouth of the Kennebec with Quebec itself as the objective point. It was enough for the present to know that fifteen hundred provincials were gathered on Lake Champlain awaiting reinforcements. Of this force Schuyler had taken command, the father-in-law of Alexander Hamilton and a member of that famous Albany family whose loyalty and liberal hospitality had been a useful and picturesque feature in the old French wars. Temporary business of a diplomatic nature with the Indians, followed by an attack of illness, removed Schuyler from this scene of operations and Richard Montgomery, of immortal but partly fortuitous fame, succeeded to his command.

Montgomery was the son of a country gentleman

and M.P. in Donegal. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and at eighteen gazetted to the 17th Foot. He fought at Louisbourg and in those subsequent operations under Amherst and Haviland which completed the conquest of Canada. Later on as a captain he served at Havana and elsewhere in the West Indies. After the peace he sold his commission, through pique it is said at being passed over, and repaired to New York, where he bought a property at Kingsbridge and married a daughter of Judge Robert Livingstone whose family was perhaps the most conspicuous among the British community of the Anglo-Dutch province. The Livingstones were the leading partisans of congress, as the de Lancys were of the Crown. One or two of their name had settled near Montreal and were active among the Canadian malcontents, and Montgomery no doubt fell under their influence. He had, moreover, all those advantages of stature, good looks and an engaging manner which, added to other qualities, make for success. He was sent to the provincial congress, and being known as a gallant and experienced soldier was at once employed in that capacity.

He was now a brigadier, having succeeded Schuyler with whom he had gone as second in command. Schuyler, during the brief period of his command, had already demonstrated against Fort St. Johns, received its fire, fought a skirmish in the woods with Carleton's Indians and stationed a force

at Ile-aux-Noix with a view to preventing some armed vessels recently built by the British at St. Johns from ascending to the lake. Montgomery before leaving Crown Point had despatched Ethan Allen with four score Indians to the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence to cement the friendliness of the *habitants* and feel the country. But on meeting with a small body of provincials under Brown near Sorel, and fired perhaps with the memory of his bloodless capture of Ticonderoga, Allen proposed to the other nothing less than the capture of Montreal. Brown agreed, but seems to have thought better of it and deserted his friend at the critical moment. When the latter appeared with one hundred and fifty men on the south shore of the river opposite Longueuil he found much good-will among the natives. The party, however, was soon discovered, the alarm was given, and Carleton promptly called in all the ladders outside the town, a precaution which was met in so hostile a spirit as to show the temper of the local peasantry. Allen then sent a messenger to Walker, who was residing six leagues away, in the full hope that he would raise his friends in force, but that gentleman was too wise to stir.

On September 24th, 1775, Allen transported his men across the river in canoes and occupied some barns and houses at Long Point, a league from the city, upon which Carleton sent Major Carden with thirty men of the 26th Regiment and two hundred and fifty militia to dislodge him. This operation

A VIEW OF MONTREAL FROM THE MOUNTAIN

From a contemporary print in the Public Archives of Canada

took just half an hour. Allen and thirty-five of his men were surrounded and captured and the rest driven off, though it cost the life of Carden, a gallant officer, and Mr. Patterson, the only killed on the British side. Of the others five were killed and five wounded. The prisoners were put in irons and sent to Quebec on the schooner *Gaspé*, whence they were shipped to England. Here they were confined in the high perched castle of Pendennis so familiar now-a-days to all visitors to Falmouth in Cornwall. This foolish attempt of a handful of riflemen to take even a poorly defended city of eight thousand souls is somewhat characteristic of the heady Vermonter. It is suggested by one historian that, annoyed at being sent out of the way when the siege of St. Johns was impending, he took this alternative of seeking notoriety, with the hope of assistance from the disaffected inhabitants, and furthermore that Montgomery regarded his somewhat raw and egotistical ardour as unlikely to prove a wholly unmixed blessing in a siege operation. Allen's mishap had some effect on the Canadians and brought a few more militia into the town. With the news of the fall of Fort Chambly, however, which arrived soon afterwards, they lost even this small measure of zeal, and Carleton writes that his Indians were as easily depressed as his handful of better disposed militia. More than one seignior who had collected a small company of men, and was marching to the front,

was insulted and compelled by force to disband them.

Compromising letters to Walker fell, at this moment, into Carleton's hands and he sent a file of men to his house at L'Assomption with orders to arrest him. Walker and his household, however, opened fire on the soldiers from the windows, wounding the officer in command, whereupon the house was set on fire and the owner with his wife dragged out of the windows and carried to Montreal where the former was locked up. Montgomery who seems to have been fond of delivering bombastic compositions at his opponents now despatched one to Carleton upbraiding him for putting Allen and his followers in irons. For this stringent measure the governor thus justified himself in his next despatch to England: "We have neither prisons to hold nor troops to guard them, so that they have been treated with as much humanity as our own safety would permit. I shall not answer Montgomery, not choosing to enter into communication with rebels."

During these events Montgomery himself had not been idle at St. Johns, before which post he had sat down on September 18th. The fort was some twenty miles from the foot of Lake Champlain at the head of the first rapids of the Richelieu, but had no natural advantages of defence. Schuyler had in the meantime contrived the defection of the Caughnawaga Indians. So Preston, now shut up in the fort, was without their badly needed assistance as letter-

carriers and scouts. A persistent artillery duel continued into October without results, and Preston had by that time some reason for confidence, since like all sieges in the Canadian woods remote from a base of supplies, the near approach of winter was the dread of the one side and the hope of the other. To Preston of course it spelled the latter, so he put his little garrison on half rations and awaited the coming of his frigid ally with something approaching confidence. But now tidings of such a nature reached him that hope died in his breast, for Chambly had fallen. If St. Johns was the key of Canada, so Chambly was the key of St. Johns and was considered quite secure. It stood on the banks of the Richelieu some fourteen miles below, and was a strong stone fort with bastions. It was held by Major Stopford, a son of Lord Courtown, with over eighty men and was proof against anything but the heaviest cannon. It was well provisioned too, and well supplied with guns and ammunition, but Stoppord had tamely surrendered after a thirty-six hour siege maintained by a small force and one, some say two, fieldpieces. He had not even preserved sufficient wits to throw his stores and powder into the river which almost lapped the walls. All these and several guns and mortars were now transferred to the camp of Montgomery, who stood greatly in need of them, and Preston's position behind such poor defences became untenable. There appear to have been no extenuating circumstances attached to this

more than "regrettable incident," which directly caused the temporary fall of Canada and all the misery thereby entailed. If ever an English officer deserved to be shot one might well think it was Stopford; but he was a peer's son, and there is no evidence that he was even censured. In days when a high-born officer cashiered for cowardice in the field could afterwards become the first minister of the Crown, anything was possible.

Carleton was known to be making every effort to raise the siege of St. Johns, but he had sent nearly all his available men to his subordinates at the front, and when news came to Preston that his efforts to reach him had failed, the latter, after some haggling over terms, was compelled to surrender from shortness of food and ammunition. Montgomery's unhappy turn of manner in this affair broke out in the articles of capitulation, which Preston was otherwise prepared to accept, concluding as they did with "regrets that so much bravery, etc., had not been shewn in a better cause." As a king's officer Preston insisted that this superfluous "improvement of the occasion" should be expunged, vowing that he and his men would rather die at their post than subscribe to a document bearing such an offensive sentiment. On November 2nd the garrison marched out with the honours of war six hundred and eighty-eight strong including eighty wounded, and were sent prisoners to New Jersey, several of the Canadian *noblesse* being among them.

On learning the critical situation of St. Johns, Carleton had made an attempt to cross the St. Lawrence at Longueuil with a view to marching to Sorel and thence up the Richelieu with one hundred and fifty regulars and a mob of doubtful militia. But the provincial troops were now swarming in the country and the governor found the south shore lined by a strong force of sharpshooters under Allen's friend and colleague, Seth Warner. An attempt to land such troops as his in the face of their deadly fire proved hopeless, and Carleton now despaired of Montreal, as well he may have. Writing to Dartmouth on November 5th he gives some of the reasons for his failure. The construction of a sufficient number of new vessels to dispute the passage of Lake Champlain had failed for want of artificers. The entrenched camps to be formed near Chambly and St. Johns were rendered impossible by the corruption and stupid baseness of the peasantry, and thus St. Johns, which for two months was left to its own strength, was forced to capitulate. The Indians had left. The militia from the parishes had deserted and the good subjects were frightened at the rebels in arms without and the traitors within. Montreal must be given up as soon as attacked. The common people would not act and there were no means to defend the place, while Arnold was marching on Quebec which stood unprepared. As a matter of fact Arnold had practically arrived there on the very date of this letter.

Carleton now only awaited a fair wind to attempt the convoy of his small force from Montreal to Quebec, the route by land being blocked on the south shore by Montgomery, and on the north shore above Quebec by Arnold's men. Of the latter, while Carleton is spiking his guns and preparing to leave Montreal to its fate, something must now be said.

Benedict Arnold, of sinister but famous name, first appears in history with Ethan Allen's surprise of the Champlain forts in the spring of 1775. He was then thirty-four, a native of Norwich, Connecticut, and of respectable family, though his father, a merchant sailing his own ships, had before his death fallen into poverty and bad habits. Arnold's great-grandfather, however, had been lieutenant-governor of Rhode Island, and the young Benedict had received a fair education, and married into a respectable family of New Haven, Connecticut, where he now resided. Carleton alludes to him casually as a "horse jockey," not quite a fair description of a man who carried on a West India business which happened to include the shipping of horses, but the sociology of New England would hardly be a strong point with a British aristocrat and governor at Quebec. Arnold's business seems to have included also occasional trips to Montreal and Quebec, which proved doubtless of much subsequent service to him. He was not regarded as over scrupulous, but he was popular and high-

spirited, a good horseman and a dead shot. He was captain of one of the companies of "Governor's Guards," the crack militia corps of Connecticut. After the Lexington affair he assembled his company, and, re-inforced by a number of Yale students, broke into the New Haven powder magazine, and marched to Cambridge fully armed and equipped. Here he so impressed the Massachusetts committee that they gave him the commission of colonel, and accepted his suggestion of seizing Ticonderoga, empowering him to raise men in their province. While attempting this he found that Allen had not only anticipated his scheme, but already had the men for carrying it out, so Arnold had no choice but to join him as a volunteer. These two heady persons clashed considerably after the capture of the forts, Arnold with his colonel's commission refusing to take orders from the Vermonter. After the affair of the forts, Arnold had proceeded to St Johns and brought away an armed sloop.

The Massachusetts committee seem to have viewed the strenuous methods of their nominee with only a qualified approval, at which the latter took offence, declined further service, and went straight to Washington's quarters at Cambridge. That sound judge of men quickly recognized Arnold's value, and when the invasion of Canada was projected appointed him commander of the less important but more hazardous of the two expeditions designed for the service. The main at-

tack by the natural and historic route as we have seen was confided to Schuyler and Montgomery, so Arnold was entrusted with the far more perilous task of leading a force to Quebec through the rugged north-eastern wilderness which is now Maine, and thence down the valley of the Chaudière. Arnold may possibly have had a share in suggesting it, but Washington already possessed a copy of a survey made some years before by Montresor, a British officer who had traversed the same line. Eleven hundred of the eighteen thousand men gathered before Boston were selected, and are described as "the flower of the colonial youth." Three companies were hardy Scotch-Irish riflemen and Indian fighters from the mountain frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, among whom were the celebrated partisan leaders, Morgan and Hendricks. Among the rank and file were many bearing names notable in New England annals, Bigelow, Thayer, Hubbard, Colbourn, and Aaron Burr, the future vice-president, but better known to history as the slayer of Alexander Hamilton. A sixth of the force is described as "Irish emigrants," which at that time usually meant the Scottish Presbyterian colonists from Ulster. On September 18th, 1775, Arnold and his men sailed from Newburyport for the mouth of the Kennebec, and up that river to Fort Western, the present Augusta and the head of deep navigation, where two hundred bateaux had been hastily constructed.

On the twenty-fifth they began their march of three hundred miles through what was then, for the most part, an uninhabited and shaggy wilderness, pushing or dragging the heavy bateaux laden with supplies and ammunition, against swift, and as they advanced, often shallow and rocky currents. Half the distance, broadly speaking, was up the Kennebec River, the other half along Lake Megantic and down the Chaudière. About midway was the long relief of the "Dead River," overhung by the mountain watershed which parted the streams, and at the same time Canada, from the New England provinces. One advantage of this secluded route was the reasonable prospect it offered of taking Quebec by surprise in its undefended state. The route had been used occasionally by small war parties of Indians or Rangers, but the "blaze" on the line of the portages, one of which was twelve miles long, was in many cases no longer distinguishable.

This march of Arnold's has been traditionally regarded as a great achievement of courage and endurance. More than one historian on the British side, however, has been inclined to make light of it, but hardly I think with justice, while within recent years an American author has devoted much industry to illuminating the truth of the business by a number of the private journals and letters of various members of the force; men for the most part by no means unaccustomed to back-

woods travel, peril and exposure. In face of such evidence there can be little doubt that the suffering and hardship endured by men who refused to flinch under it and turn back, has justified the panegyrics posterity has bestowed on the exploit. If it had been ultimately successful; had the force actually surprised and seized Quebec as it nearly did, this would have been beyond a doubt the great episode of the Revolutionary War, with Arnold for its hero.

They were just a month in traversing the wilderness between the last settlements on the Kennebec and the first clearings on the Chaudière. An unusually cold spell, and a freshet of almost unparalleled violence, transformed an enterprise of ordinary hardihood and bearable fatigue into one of peril, semi-starvation and complete exhaustion. The tangled swamps were flooded, the bateaux destroyed, and the provisions, of which the wilderness furnished none, washed away or spoiled. Before crossing the divide, half the force at the decision of their officers refused to proceed in the face of what seemed to them certain starvation. Colonel Enos, the chief officer responsible for this decision, was afterwards court-martialed and honourably acquitted. The more stubborn half followed Arnold over the barrier, even carrying several of the bateaux on their galled shoulders over the wooded and rocky ridges from whose northern slopes the fountain waters of the Chaudière, still in flood, carried them

down to the bosom of Lake Megantic. Food had now completely given out. A dog was eaten greedily; leggings and moccasins were eagerly chewed, and fifty or sixty men died in their tracks. Arnold on a rickety raft with four men sped down the unfamiliar waters at a headlong pace, regardless of dangers escaped more than once by a hair's breadth, till he reached the first fringe of Canadian settlement. Here by good luck he found sympathy and provisions, and what was more vital, assistance in conveying them through the woods on the backs of horses to his starving men. The rest of the route presented by comparison few difficulties, and Arnold who had behaved throughout with that characteristic resolution no one has ever denied him, eventually brought his men safely to the neighbourhood of Point Lévis on November 8th. Over fifty had died on the road from various causes. Between six and seven hundred remained, of whom a sixth were prostrate. Their leader now went forward to Point Lévis to reconnoitre the situation, and found that every boat and canoe had been withdrawn to the north shore only a few hours previously, for Cramahé in command at Quebec had received notice of the approach of the Americans through a fortunately intercepted letter that Arnold had entrusted to an Indian for delivery to Washington.

Arnold now held a council of war on the expediency of making an attempt on Quebec as soon

as practicable. Only one voice was raised against it, so efforts were at once made to collect canoes higher up the river and construct scaling ladders, in both of which enterprises the *habitants* showed themselves both willing and useful. The presence of the invaders was now sufficiently apparent to the garrison. The frigate *Lizard* and the war-sloop *Hunter* lying in the basin opened fire on them whenever they showed themselves, and sent forward a boat to reconnoitre, from which the Americans captured a midshipman who stoutly refused to give them any information, and seems on that account to have won their respect. Arnold wrote on November 8th to Montgomery congratulating him on the St. Johns affair and at the same time informing him that forty Indians had joined his own force, that the Canadians were friendly and that he would attack Quebec if there was the slightest prospect of success. In any case he would meet Montgomery in his advance through Canada, and Quebec short of provisions (so Arnold thought) and ill-defended (which was true) must inevitably fall.

After a few days devoted to the recuperation of his men, to the collection of canoes and the construction of ladders, Arnold crossed the river in the small hours of November 13th with most of his force, and, undiscovered by the British, landed at Wolfe's Cove. During the day they demonstrated in front of the city walls, giving three loud hurrahs, so one of the garrison tells us, and were answered

with defiant cheers and a salute of cannon balls. Proceeding across the ridge they took up their quarters about the General Hospital and in a country house of Major Caldwell's near the St. Charles River. Arnold now sent a summons to surrender to Cramahé presenting the usual mixture of cant, bombast, threats, and bad taste so characteristic of the effusions of this generation of American commanders. Cramahé would not even receive it. Arnold says he fired on his white flag, but Cramahé declared that this was a fable for use in the American press. After a day or two of inactivity, relieved by trifling incidents or demonstrations of mutual defiance, Arnold and his officers concluded that the city was invulnerable to their ill-equipped efforts and for better security marched their troops to Pointe-aux-Trembles, some twenty miles up the river, there to await Montgomery.

Within the city there was justifiable anxiety. "Montgomery's success" writes an inhabitant "had induced many to show their sentiments and indeed to act as though no opposition might be shown the rebel forces. The Republican method of calling town meetings was adopted and in these noisy assemblies the mask was thrown off, and there one could perceive who were and who were not for the government." Some of the malcontents we are told had articles of capitulation already drafted for the Americans, but even thus early a majority of the militia both English and French behaved very well

and mounted guard regularly. Besides these volunteers there were sixty or seventy of the 7th, nearly all in short of that famous regiment who were not prisoners in the colonies. Allen McLean, a tower of strength, arrived on November 13th from Sorel with his hundred Royal Emigrants, while ninety recruits for the same corps had just landed in Newfoundland under Campbell and Malcolm Fraser. These with a few artillerymen and artificers made up the total of the regular force. A council of war had been held in which it was arranged that the two warships now in the harbour should remain for the winter, and the crews with their guns, under Captain Henderson, assist in the defence of the city. On the nineteenth, "to the unspeakable joy of the garrison," who feared with good reason he might have been cut off, Carleton reached the city in safety to assume the command and create an atmosphere of confidence and hope.

Carleton and his handful of combatants did not leave Montreal till November 10th, when Montgomery was actually within a league or two of the city. Many of the loyal inhabitants accompanied him to the wharf, and the scene of his departure is described as a melancholy and pathetic one. Prescott and the effective garrison, numbering one hundred and thirty men and officers, embarked with him in a flotilla of eleven craft and the wind held fair till they reached Sorel, where the provincials under Easton had erected batteries to dispute his passage.

At this critical spot, as ill-luck would have it, the wind veered to the east and the situation became a precarious one. Easton demanded their surrender, and a council being held at which the urgency of Carleton's escape and presence at Quebec was insisted upon, Captain Belette, commanding one of the armed vessels, pledged himself to face the enemy's boats long enough for the governor to get away. Another skipper, Bouchette, who for his rapid journeys had earned the sobriquet of *La Tourtre*, or the "wild pigeon," guaranteed to get the governor clear of the enemy and out of harm's way.

So on the night of the tenth Carleton put himself in the hands of this loyal and enterprising Frenchman who ably fulfilled his promise. They started with muffled oars and through the narrow passage of Ile-du-Pas the crew paddled the boat with the palms of their hands. Lake St. Peter they traversed swiftly and safely and arrived in due course at Three Rivers, where Carleton was informed, though falsely, that there were six hundred congress troops marching along the north shore towards Quebec, and more truly that there was a strong force already close to the city. On resuming his journey he exchanged his faithful pilot's boat for the armed sloop *Fell* under Captain Napier, and arrived, as we have seen, to the great joy of the Quebeckers on the nineteenth. In the meantime Prescott and his men had been captured by the provincials, and their ships proved of the utmost service in

helping to convey Montgomery and his force down the river to Quebec, the capture of which city may well at this moment have seemed to the rebel general and his friends almost an accomplished fact. Carleton declared that everything possible under the circumstances had been done by Cramahé and his officers, with one mental reservation. This last he soon gave expression to by issuing orders that every man who was not prepared to take his part in the defence of the city must leave it within four days, a measure which caused a wholesale exodus of the timorous, the lukewarm and the disloyal, and went far in depriving the enemy of their channels of information.

After this purging, Quebec under the stimulating influence of Carleton prepared to face the fourth and last siege in her history. The militia before this ordinance had included, we are assured by one defender, numbers of "rank rebels," while Cramahé himself wrote Dartmouth that he feared these traitors within more than the enemy without. The British muster roll had shown about five hundred men, and was reduced by Carleton's edict to about three hundred and thirty. The French on the other hand were increased by it from four hundred and eighty to five hundred and thirty-three. Besides the *Lizard* and *Hunter* a dozen or more merchant ships had been detained, and their seamen and officers, together with the blue jackets and a few mariners, introduced a further force of four hundred men into

the garrison. The number of souls within the town during the siege is estimated at five thousand. Colonel Caldwell, a retired officer of the army resident in Quebec, commanded the British militia, while Colonel Voyer led the French. The latter may be further credited with a company of students and other less active volunteers, who guarded prisoners and performed similar useful duties. The complete roster of French combatants during the siege shows seven hundred and ten names, that of the British unfortunately is not extant.

There were provisions in the town for eight months, but firewood, a vital need, was scarce, and the country was already covered with a foot of snow. There was nothing to fear as yet, however, from the water-front, as it was now full of floating ice, Carleton well knew that so long as he held Quebec Canada was not lost, so also did Montgomery. "I need not tell you," he wrote to Robert Livingstone, his father-in-law, then attending congress, "that till Quebec is taken Canada is unconquered. There are three alternatives, siege, investment or storm. The first is impossible from the difficulty of making trenches in a Canadian winter and the impossibility of living in them if we could." As to mining he was informed that the soil did not admit of it, and lastly his artillery would be useless for breaking such walls. As for investment he had not enough men to prevent a garrison in a familiar country from getting food and firewood and he

complains that a lack of specie sadly limits the number of Canadians willing to enlist, for congress paper had already begun to stink in their nostrils. There were, however, fewer objections to storming. If his force was small Carleton's was not great, the length of his enemy's works which in other respects favoured him, would prove to his disadvantage and assist Montgomery who could select his point in secret, while the constant strain of expectation on so mixed a garrison would breed weakness and discontent among them.

Thus Montgomery summed up his chances in a frame of mind already much less sanguine than that in which he left Montreal. From the first, therefore, he practically decided on the bold venture leading which in person he so bravely fell. Openly at least Montgomery was sanguine enough, and his boast that he would eat his Christmas dinner in Quebec or hell is a familiar tradition, if not scientific history. One may suspect that the alternative was supplied by his enemies.

We are not concerned here with Montgomery's brief occupation of Montreal nor yet with his journey down the St. Lawrence, both of which were uneventful. The greater part of his army had been left under Wooster at Montreal and in various ports to the south of the river, and it does not seem that when he joined Arnold at Pointe-aux-Trembles their united forces amounted to much more than a thousand men, exclusive of some Canadian militia,

though British accounts both modern and contemporary have always rated it as larger. His own troops were nothing like so good as Arnold's men whose physique and discipline he regarded with admiration and surprise. Nor were the defences of the city "ruinous" as Arnold had somewhat prematurely described them, but were in a good state thanks to Cramahé's forethought and to an efficient engineer, namely, James Thompson who was alive half a century later to tell stories of that famous winter, and has moreover left a journal that throws much light on the siege. The stone walls and bastions and deep trenches which formed the normal defences of the city on the landward side were now well furnished with guns. The interval between the rocky breast of Cape Diamond and the St. Lawrence was heavily stockaded to protect the passage into the Lower Town at this narrow gap, while similar barricades were erected at the further opening on the banks of the St. Charles.

With regard to the Lower Town it should be generally noted that in those days the tide rose and fell over a considerable area where are now wharves and streets. The familiar spot at the south-west, however, where Montgomery fell has not materially altered, but the point of the most formidable attack by Arnold's division, the Sault-au-Matelot, has been greatly changed by artificial reclamation from the waters of the river. In those days the narrow artery from St. Roch to the Lower Town

by the waterside was only a footway, and had even to cross the projecting spur of rock which gives its name to the spot. Here the narrow neck was guarded by a strong barrier defended by cannon, and at the further end of the street which began here and led to Mountain Street, the only approach to the Upper Town, was a second barrier similarly defended. This stood at the present junction of St. James and Sous-le-Cap Streets where, as at Près de Ville, a tablet has recently been erected in commemoration of the defenders. This barrier and Montgomery's point of attack at the extreme western end of Champlain Street were the only spots where the assailants could enter the city save by scaling the walls. How the desperate attempt was made and frustrated will be related presently.

Montgomery who had taken up his quarters at Holland House, some two miles from the city, prefaced more active measures by two characteristic missives, one to Carleton and another to the inhabitants. In the first he accused his opponent of ill-treating himself and of cruelty to his prisoners, but his own humanity, he said, moved him to give Carleton the opportunity of saving himself and others from the destruction which hung over them. He informed him that he was well acquainted with his situation, "a great extent of works in their nature incapable of defence manned by a motley crew of sailors, the greatest part our friends, or of citizens

who wish to see us within their walls, and a few of the worst troops who ever styled themselves soldiers," and descanted further on the impossibility of relief, the want of necessities in the event of a simple blockade, and the absurdity of resistance. He was himself, he declared, at the head of troops accustomed to success, confident in the righteousness of their cause and so incensed at Carleton's inhumanity that he could with difficulty restrain them. More follows in a style which suggests the Buffalo militia of thirty years later, and when read by the side of Montgomery's letter to his father-in-law presents a quite remarkable specimen not only of unadulterated bluff, but of futile bad taste as addressed to a distinguished and able servant of the Crown. He winds up by warning Carleton against destroying stores, public or private: "If you do," concludes this inflated document, "there will be no mercy shown."

Montgomery, rightly assuming from former experiences that no letter from him would be received in the ordinary way, sent this one by an old woman, and Carleton appears to have seen it, doubtless to his great entertainment. Several copies of a further address to the inhabitants were shot over the walls by arrows, and their contents were not calculated to conciliate the eight hundred volunteers in arms representing the male portion of the civil inhabitants, whom he styles "a wretched garrison defending wretched works." He draws a lurid picture of "a

city in flames, carnage, confusion, plunder, all caused by a general courting ruin to avoid his shame." This one-sided correspondence took place on December 6th and 7th, the days following his arrival. The city was now cut off from the outer world. Many of Carleton's Canadian militia had been caught outside the walls at St. Roch, and had been, willingly or unwillingly, disarmed by Jeremiah Duggan, a hairdresser from Quebec, who with a following of French-Canadians was an active and useful partisan of Montgomery's. The latter's artillery in the meantime had been hauled up from the river to the Plains of Abraham and a battery of five twelve-pounders was opened half a mile from the St. John's Gate, to be quickly demolished, however, by the superior guns of the city. Another battery of mortars, more securely placed in St. Roch, behind protecting buildings, though only two hundred yards from the walls, threw shells into the city; but they were small and did little damage. "Even the women," says a diarist, "came to laugh at them."

The situation of the besiegers was not an enviable one, for winter had now set in with rigour. Though the provincials were largely clad in British uniforms captured at St. Johns and Chambly they had no winter clothing, and what was still more serious smallpox had broken out among the *habitants* and soon began to exact its toll of victims in the American camp. The garrison from the very first behaved

admirably and under the cheery firmness and the confidence of Carleton kept their ordinary watches, and responded to the not infrequent summons of night alarms with spirit and alacrity. In these three weeks of interval pending Montgomery's attack there was little actual conflict. Carleton's gunners made effective practice on all attempts of the besiegers to get their light guns into advantageous position, though the St. Roch mortars continued, it is true, to throw showers of almost harmless shells into the city. Arnold was driven from his headquarters in St. Roch which were riddled with shot, and Montgomery's horse was killed by a cannon ball while the owner was seated in his cariole. The Alleghany riflemen, however, from various shelters outside the walls and from the cupola above the intendant's palace carried on a deadly fire, picking off almost every man who showed his head above the ramparts.

On December 22nd, Colonel Caldwell's servant, bearing the significant name of Wolf, arrived in the city. He had been taken prisoner in trying to save something from the wreck of his master's country house which Arnold had burnt, and in company with a deserter had succeeded in making his escape. They reported that Montgomery intended to attempt the city on the next night, and a thousand men were kept under arms in consequence. They were right, for another deserter was hauled over the walls the next day who confirmed the report but gave Wolf's

escape as the reason for postponement, and declared that it had been arranged for that very night unless his own flight to the enemy should again alter Montgomery's plans. As a matter of fact the latter had called a council of war, of which the majority were for storming the town as soon as a daily expected supply of bayonets, axes and hand grenades had arrived. The general himself was for delay till a further attempt to open a breach in the walls with artillery had been made; but the others were so eager for immediate action that he finally gave way. The first design was to assault the walls at four different points between Cape Diamond and Palace Gate, three of these movements, however, to be feints, the one at Cape Diamond alone to be pressed home. Aaron Burr, Montgomery's aide was very forward in the affair and was actually assigned fifty picked men to be drilled in the practice of scaling ladders.

At this moment, however, Antell and Price, disaffected Montrealers, and the former Montgomery's engineer, arrived and insisted that the Lower Town was the right point for attack and would be less dangerous. As a military move it was the most rash, for even the capture of the Lower would leave the assailants at the mercy of the Upper Town. But the Montrealers' minds ran strongly on politics and they had persuaded themselves that the inhabitants would then compel Carleton to surrender in order to avoid the destruction of their property and warehouses. But the stormy weather acted as a deterrent from

day to day, while Montgomery's confidence, though not his courage, was oozing away. Arnold had so alienated some of his officers that they refused to serve under him till urgently appealed to by their general. Smallpox too was increasing and some of the New England troops whose period of service terminated on December 31st, vowed they would not stay a day beyond that date. The intense cold and frequent frostbites cooled the ardour of the majority, only warmed from time to time by occasional sallies from the city for wood, and in the case of the riflemen by their congenial occupation of "sniping."

The twenty-third passed uneventfully, for the reasons already given, and so did Christmas Day, Montgomery eating his substitute for turkey neither in Quebec nor in the other place, but in Holland House and in desponding mood. He writes from there of the factions against Arnold, blaming the latter not at all but complaining that he himself has no money, paper being valueless, and Price who had been an invaluable friend to the cause having exhausted his own means of supply. He would resign if it came to a mere blockade but would make a desperate effort first. The spirit of the potential slaves in Quebec and the agility of the contemptuous Carleton in escaping his clutches, galled him sorely. The promise of becoming a successful and living hero had lately seemed so fair, and now the presentiment was dark upon him that he could only be one, unsuccessful and possibly dead. Carleton, during these

anxious days, each one of which was expected to end in a night assault, remained cool, vigilant and wary. His bearing, says an eye-witness, carried no trace of anxiety though he slept in his clothes at the Récollets'. Every man of the garrison had his post and when off duty lay by his arms. The once apathetic French and the erst grumbling British militia now vied with each other in alertness and eagerly waited for the attack.

A change of weather, which deserters had spoken of as the signal for action, came on the twenty-eighth. But that night passed quietly, as did the next after a day of "serene sunshine," and again to the vigilant and shivering sentries on the walls there came no sign out of the darkness below. On the thirty-first the thermometer fell again, but the feeling in the city was strong that the moment was come. The intuition was correct, for about four o'clock on the last morning of the year, Captain Malcolm Fraser of the Royal Emigrants, who was in command of the main guard, and indeed of all the sentries on the walls, saw strange signal fires and the flash as of lanterns or torches at various points from the St. Charles to the St. Lawrence, while almost immediately two rockets shot up into the sky from beyond Cape Diamond. The alarm was now raised, and in a brief time all doubt was ended by the opening of a sharp fire against the walls to the south of the St. Louis Gate and towards Cape Diamond. Drums beat and bells rang

wildly out into the now stormy night and in less than three minutes, says one account, every man in the garrison was under arms at his post, even old men of seventy going forward to oppose the rebels.

The plan of attack had in the meantime been altered. Montgomery was moving quietly along the narrow strand of the St. Lawrence from Wolfe's Cove, heading for the barrier which defended the western end of the Lower Town beneath Cape Diamond. Arnold with a larger body was to pass from St. Roch beneath the Palace Gate and attack the similarly defended barrier already spoken of at Sault-au-Matelot. The rockets were a signal to Arnold that Montgomery was on the march. In the event of success, which achieved in one quarter would have materially favoured it in the other, the two forces were to combine in an assault, if such seemed feasible, on the Upper Town. The firing heard at the walls in front had been that of Montgomery's Canadians led by Livingstone and some provincials under Brown, and was intended as a diversion to distract the garrison. It was pitch dark, and a biting wind laden with fine snow blew from the north-east directly in the face of Montgomery's long extended column, and indeed it considerably deadened both sounds and signals during that first period of excitement.

In almost the last letter of his life Montgomery had alluded to Wolfe's achievement as a series of

lucky hits. He himself may well have seemed to be asking a good deal of the fickle goddess on this somewhat desperate venture as he led his men along the narrow strand between the gloomy cliffs and the frozen river. Deep drifts of snow and slabs of ice forced up by the tide on to the narrow way seemed to have further impeded the toilsome progress of the column from Wolfe's Cove, where it had descended to the shore. As Montgomery and his leading file arrived within fifty yards of the barrier the men who were standing behind it with lighted fuses say that they could just perceive them pausing for a moment as if in uncertainty. Then one of their number sprang forward, —Montgomery, no doubt, who according to an American diarist cried out, "Come on, brave boys, Quebec is ours!" A small group followed him. At this moment the battery was fired, and a hail of grapeshot swept every one of these dimly visible assailants off their feet. Further discharges with a sharp musket fire sent the main and invisible part of the columns flying back into the darkness and out of action, so far as that memorable night and day were concerned. "The rest is silence," save that the groans of dying men were heard by those within the barrier. All that was to be seen outside it on the following day by Carleton's search party was one stark hand above the snow, which falling steadily for many hours had covered a dozen frozen corpses. The hand was Montgomery's.

CHAPTER VI

LAST DAYS OF THE SIEGE

THE little battery of four guns at Près de Ville had been thus admirably and effectively handled by Captain Barnsfare with an artillery sergeant and fifteen sailors. In the blockhouse above were thirty-five French-Canadians, whose bullets followed the flying enemy into the darkness Strange to say, however, an extraordinary panic succeeded this doughty deed, apparently caused by an old woman, who cried out that the rebels had forced the Sault-au-Matelot, and were upon them in the rear. One might be permitted to wonder if this was the same old woman who had taken Montgomery's insulting missive to Carleton, and had been drummed out of the town for her pains, and thus sought revenge. If so she had it, for according to one account, men actually tumbled over each other in their superfluous terror.

Arnold's column, too, though in far different fashion, had by this time already failed in its attempt. How this came about must now be told. Whether Arnold saw the warning rockets seems uncertain, but at any rate he started about four o'clock on the morning of December 31st to pick his way through St. Roch in the direction of

the barricade of the Sault-au-Matelot, which was his goal. He was followed by six hundred men, headed by the redoubtable Morgan and his Virginia mountaineers. Small hope of surprise could have lingered among his calculations by the time he was under the Palace Gate, for the bells of the city were by then clanging wildly, and the sound of heavy firing from the feigned attack upon the western walls beat up, though in muffled fashion, against the storm. As he reached the narrow strip between the tide of the St. Charles, then nearly at flood, and the steeps above, his column was fired upon by pickets above the Palace Gate and the Hôtel Dieu. His men, encumbered with scaling ladders, were exposed to view by fire balls thrown from the buildings above, while he himself was soon afterwards hit in the leg and put hopelessly out of action. Morgan now took the command, though not strictly entitled to it, and attacking the first barrier with some of his mountaineers and other ardent spirits, eventually carried it, though the time and energy expended in the proceeding is a matter of much disagreement among even contemporary chroniclers.

However that may be, the Americans poured over the first barrier in spite of the gun and the guard, and found themselves in a street some two hundred yards long lined by houses, at the further end of which was a second barrier protected by cannon. There would seem to have been some pause here, and anxious thoughts were cast in the

direction of Montgomery, who in the event of success should then have been within the city. But of him nothing had yet been heard. Carleton had now learnt that the first barricade had been fired, (Americans say by a surprise of the guard who were drinking and in ignorance of the situation), and he despatched Captain Laws with seventy men by Palace Gate to take Arnold in the rear. In the meantime Caldwell, who seems to have moved rapidly from point to point and grasped the situation, leaving his own militia to their obviously easy task on the western walls, led a mixed party that he had collected down to the Lower Town and to the back of the second barrier, where he joined Nairne and Dambourges, who with Voyer and his French-Canadians were there holding the enemy in check.

Around this inner barrier which overlooked the Americans now swarming in Sault-au-Matelot Street and protected the approach to the Upper Town, a great deal of confused and severe fighting took place before the besiegers were finally overcome. The latter were inevitably crowded in the narrow street, and suffered much from the raking of the battery at the end and the fire from some houses which had been occupied by the defenders. The barrier itself seems never to have been in danger. One ladder was placed against it, but was dragged over the walls by a French-Canadian militiaman amid a hail of American bullets. Some of the houses, however, were forced by the Ameri-

cans, only to be recaptured at the point of the bayonet by the British. The various accounts of this hour or two of not continuous but often fierce fighting give what each man heard and saw in the blinding snow and darkness, illuminated only by the flashing of guns and hand grenades. The confusion was added to by the British uniforms worn by most of the Americans, for a paper inscribed, "Liberty or death" pinned in their hats was a futile distinction in such a mêlée. But the Americans, being mostly in the open street, suffered out of all proportion to their opponents. Morgan and many others behaved with infinite gallantry, the former killing Captain Anderson, the only officer who fell on his side. The hopelessness of the effort, however, at length became evident, and a retreat was attempted.

In the meantime Laws, who had been sent out with two guns by Carleton to take Arnold's men in the rear, accompanied by McDougall and Fraser with some of the Royal Emigrants, and by Captain Hamilton, of the *Lizard*, with blue jackets, became engaged in St. Roch with a belated company of Arnold's under Dearborn, which had just crossed from their quarters beyond the St. Charles. After some desultory fighting among the houses, the provincials were captured or routed, and, furthermore, the rebel battery in St. Roch was taken and its guns carried off. Laws and his friends, now heading for the Sault-au-Malelot, took Morgan's already

shattered force in the rear, and completed their discomfiture. Many of the Americans escaped over the ice of the St. Charles, a perilous venture for strangers in the dark. The greater part, however, laid down their arms. The number of unwounded prisoners was about three hundred and ninety, of wounded forty-four. The killed were returned at thirty-two, but from the number of bodies found afterwards in the snow and recovered in the spring when it melted, and from the estimates of Americans present, the number must have been much greater. McLean, who as second in command should be something of an authority, states, in a private letter, that they buried in all two hundred and twenty. The British loss was given as one officer and five privates killed, and a few wounded. Possibly it was about double that, but in any case quite trifling. Carleton in a letter to Howe says that between six and seven hundred were killed, wounded or captured. The prisoners were paraded before Carleton in the Upper Town, and after a good breakfast the officers were quartered in the Seminary, and the men in the Récollets'.

Carleton was now urged by some of his officers to order a sortie on the presumably demoralized, and certainly diminished, besiegers. But he was too old and cool a soldier to take any risks with his heterogeneous and small force, and with but little chance of any solid advantage. His business was to hold the city till the spring, not to indulge in futile,

even if victorious, skirmishes on the Plains of Abraham or in the suburbs. He might yet want every man he had, for there was nothing but the winter to prevent reinforcements of the enemy from entering Canada. It was not known yet that Montgomery was dead. But on a scouting party's being sent through the barrier at the Près de Ville they collected after a considerable search thirteen bodies all buried, as has been stated, in the newly fallen snow, Montgomery's hand and forearm alone protruding from it. One man only, a sergeant, still breathed and uttered a few words, but quickly died. There was no certainty about Montgomery's corpse till it was brought into the town and identified by some of the prisoners. Carleton, with the humanity that never forsook him, sent out search parties to the scene of Arnold's march and attack at the Sault-au-Matelot, who brought in many wounded, including some officers. He caused Montgomery to be quietly buried in a hollow under the St. Louis bastion, attending the funeral himself with some half dozen others.

Wooster, hitherto in command at Montreal, now came up to replace Montgomery, for Arnold's wound kept him out of the field till April, when in a pet at some fancied slight from his commander he got himself transferred to Montreal. But their two enterprising commanders removed and their numbers reduced to about eight hundred men including Livingstone's rebel Canadians who were not very

formidable and whose numbers seem vague and fluctuating, the besiegers were no longer, for the present, a cause of serious anxiety to Carleton. He had ample provisions and could now obtain firewood with less risk than before; above all his garrison were thoroughly pleased with themselves and with him. Whatever complacency he may himself have felt he relaxed nothing of his precautions, and resolutely refused all proposals of his subordinates to adventures in the open field. A smaller man would have given way before their importunities. His inspiring demeanour is thus described: "General Carleton wore still the same countenance; his looks were watched and they gave courage to many; there was no despondency in his features. He will find a numerous band to follow him in every danger. He is known, and that knowledge gave courage and strength to the garrison."

We must not linger here over the minor doings which mostly filled the four following months till the arrival of ships and troops from England put a prompt end to the siege. The day-to-day journals continue the story in minute detail[1] and would be interesting enough to quote from if this volume were a record of the campaign and not a life of one of the chief actors in it.

It was creditable to the spirit of the besiegers

[1] There are six different journals extant concerning this siege of Quebec besides an orderly book, the work of several persons concerned in the campaign. Though some are fuller than others they all agree in substance, and call for no elaboration or notice in these pages.

that they held to their posts. The expected reinforcements came in but slowly, the rigours of a Canadian winter proving not only a deterrent to the new provincial troops, but to the equally crude machinery that was to supply them with the necessaries of war and existence. The besiegers, however, persevered. Batteries were opened to be quickly dismounted by Carleton's guns, save one at Point Lévis, which proved too remote or too feeble to do much harm either to town or shipping. The prisoners in the city made one or two fruitless attempts to escape, though they confessed to receiving the best treatment that circumstances afforded. Later on they were removed to the ships. Ninety-four, of British birth mostly, had voluntarily enlisted in the garrison corps, but when a dozen or two had deserted, Carleton confined the rest on the ships in the harbour.

Rumours of all kinds were constantly brought into the city by deserters, among others that large forces were preparing for a descent on Canada in the spring, a statement that the evacuation of Boston by Howe made readily credible. But Carleton had reason to hope that an army from England had already sailed for the St. Lawrence, though he knew nothing for certain, and a sole dependence on the good intentions of a British ministry of that day might well whiten the hair of a remotely placed official. By early April, 1776, reinforcements had brought the besieging force up to two thousand men

including invalids, and with some heavier guns they hoped to breach the walls. But the walls mocked their batteries for the brief period before the defenders' fire put them out of action. The *habitants*, too, had become restive under the continuous demands for provisions and labour in return for worthless paper money and were changing their attitude, while the Americans irritated by the cold, privation and defeat, were no longer always able to maintain a philanthropic and brotherly mien towards the peasantry. No thought of another attempt to storm the city was entertained by Wooster, and indeed improved defences both in the way of timbers and batteries, together with a united and confident garrison, put it out of the question. The last diversion of all was on May 3rd after the ice had broken, when a fireship was sent up the harbour from the Point of Orleans and caused some brief anxiety, but ultimately drifted out of harm's way.

Arnold, in the meantime, slighted as he thought himself by Wooster, had repaired to Montreal cured of his wound, just in time to meet a commission sent from congress with full powers to look into the military situation of Canada and probe if possible the depths of the *habitant's* mind. No less a person than Dr. Franklin headed it, while Carrol of Carrolton, and his brother, a Roman Catholic priest, afterwards the first archbishop of the United States, for politic reasons went with him. There was much sociability

at Montreal during the visit, the irrepressible firebrand Walker and his wife doing the honours, and giving the visitors no doubt their interpretation of the French-Canadian attitude and of British tyranny. It may be interesting to note that when the astute Franklin had done with the Walkers, which was not till he had reached Albany on his way home, he made a little entry in his journal which may be read to-day, to the effect that in whatever place this worthy couple might set up house he opined that it would soon become too hot to hold them. The parenthesis may be pardoned as justifying the strong language used about this notorious couple in the despatches of Carleton and Murray, and accounting for the extraordinary resentment they had aroused in the breasts of light-hearted captains and subalterns, British and French.

Franklin's commission, however, at the end of April reported the military case of Canada as hopeless, though occupied at the moment by four thousand American troops; but these were unpaid, ill-fed, and badly commanded. Wooster came in for scathing criticism, in which we may detect a trace of Arnold's influence. Wooster was recalled and Thomas, of Bunker Hill notoriety, despatched to his command. The accomplished Maryland priest had not moved the apathy of the *habitants* nor touched the loyalty of the clergy. The commission expressed infinite sympathy with the treatment of the inhabitants by the congress troops, which seems unfair,

while the creditable perseverance and undoubted courage of the besiegers of Quebec met with scant recognition at the hands of these critical civilians. The summing up, however, of their report was in effect that the capture of Canada was hopeless, and that it would be well for congress to confine itself to protecting the lake route to the Hudson against incursions from that inhospitable country.

But we must now return to Carleton whose deliverance and moment of action had at last come. Early in the morning of May 6th, 1776, every citizen still in bed in Quebec rose to join the crowds that were already thronging the ramparts. A sail was in sight, and Carleton soon knew that Dartmouth—by this time, however, superseded,—had not failed him. The sail proved to be that of the British frigate *Surprise* to be followed quickly by the *Isis* and a war-sloop. They brought welcome reinforcements, and the still better news that a fleet and armament were upon the sea. For the moment there were infantry and marines enough for the occasion. These were soon landed, and Carleton now felt justified in indulging the long restrained ardour of his faithful garrison. "The drums beat to arms," says a joyous diarist, "and it was ordered that all volunteers in the English and French militia should join the sailors and troops to march out and attack the rebels. Every man almost in both corps was forward to offer his service."

Carleton placed himself at the head of eight

hundred men, and the column marched at twelve o'clock, with McLean, whose conduct in the siege had been above praise, second in command, and Caldwell, who was sent to England a day or two later with the joyful tidings, at the head of his British militia. The little army extending itself across the plain made a noble appearance. General Thomas was now in command of the enemy *vice* the disgraced Wooster, but he had made no preparations, and a general stampede at once ensued. Nine hundred Pennsylvanians took ambush for a brief period in the woods, but they soon joined their flying countrymen. "They left cannon, muskets, ammunition, and even clothes," to quote again from the diary. "We found the roads strewed with rifles and ammunition, while clothes, bread and pork all lay in heaps in the highway with howitzers and fieldpieces. So great was their panic that they left behind them many papers of consequence to those who wrote them, and to whom they were writ. Look which way soever, one could see men flying and carts driving away with all possible speed."

The small force of provincials who throughout the spring had occupied Point Lévis and protected the battery there, on seeing the plight of their friends on the north shore of the river had nothing for it but to make their escape as best they could through the woods. A few days later Carleton, with the humanity that always distinguished him, ordered all his militia officers to institute a diligent search

of the surrounding country for such American fugitives as might be in distress through hunger or sickness. These were to be afforded all necessary relief, and to be brought to the General Hospital. This was made known by proclamation together with the promise that as soon as their health was restored they should have full liberty to return to their respective provinces.[1]

In the meantime the frigates had sailed up the river to seize the enemy's craft; the General Hospital and suburbs had been re-occupied, and by night (May 6th, 1776) all was over. The Americans had vanished, and peace once more brooded over the faithful city.

[1] Carleton's liberal attitude toward the Americans was well revealed in the following letter to Howe, August 8th, 1776. (B. 39, p. 93).

"I have sent the rebel prisoners taken in this province (except such as have chosen to remain here . . .) to New York, that they may from thence return to their respective homes; in hopes that the confinement they have undergone may have brought them to a sense of their past crimes and that this proof given to the rebels still in arms, that the way to mercy is not yet shut against them, the contrary being inculcated by their chiefs, and those who have interest in fomenting the disorders of the country, may tend to work a favourable change in their minds and contribute to restore the peace of America.

"It appears that this Congress is intent only upon exciting the people of America to acts of blood, and industrious even with every falsehood best calculated for their purpose, to divert them from all hopes of reconciliation: probably the sending back their prisoners, notwithstanding this, loaded with every favour which was in my power to confer upon them, will be such testimonies to the thinking people among them, of the humanity and forbearance with which His Majesty's just resentment towards his revolted subjects is tempered as may serve effectually to counteract the dangerous designs of those desperate people whose fatal ascendency over them has already conducted them to the brink of ruin."

CHAPTER VII

THE EVACUATION OF CANADA

THE only criticism to be made upon the American retreat from Quebec is the ill-regulated fashion and undignified despatch with which it was executed, and the loss of material thereby involved. The surviving troops of Arnold and Montgomery had at least deserved well of congress, which had made great and not unsuccessful efforts throughout the winter and spring to reinforce them, as the figures already quoted will have shown. It was beyond doubt of great importance to the revolutionary leaders that Canada should be regarded in the colony as a virtually annexed province for as long as possible, even if the authorities knew its retention was impossible. Three Rivers, under the command of Livingstone, had been the dépôt whence the constantly arriving men and supplies had been forwarded to Quebec, while guns had been cast at the well-known forges in its neighbourhood. The main body of fugitives passed quickly through, leaving only a small force there for a brief period, and hurried onward to Sorel where General Thomas had decided to make his chief stand against Carleton.

In this very month of May, too, Arnold who had

from one to two thousand men with him in Montreal was threatened from the west by a small British force under Captain Forster. This officer, with a small detachment of forty men of the 8th Regiment and a dozen volunteers from the remote garrison of Detroit was stationed at Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg), some fifty miles up the river. On hearing of the raising, or prospective raising, of the siege of Quebec before British reinforcements, he judged that a demonstration before Montreal might possibly attach sufficient Loyalists and repentant malcontents to his side to enable him to secure the city. So feeling his way thither with his own little company and two hundred Indians he found Major Butterfield entrenched at the Cedars with four hundred men and some guns barring his way. With the further help of a local Canadian seignior, de Senneville, and a score or two of followers, Forster compelled the surrender of the post with its garrison. A considerable number of Canadians having joined him, he crossed the western mouth of the Ottawa to the Island of Montreal and marched towards the city.

Arnold, however, was on the alert with one thousand five hundred men at Lachine, and Forster, whose venture was more spirited and useful than vital to British interests, had no choice but to recross the water to Vaudreuil. He had scarcely landed when Arnold arrived on the hither shore at Ste. Anne, near which there stood and still stands in

ruin the old fortified château of Senneville or Boisbriant. From these posts he advanced in bateaux over the league of water to Vaudreuil, where Forster with his cannon gave his boats such a warm reception that he was forced to retire. The fortnight's campaign, including some skirmishes unrecorded here, resulted in Forster's giving up four hundred and thirty prisoners for a like number to be exchanged later by congress, a compact which was scandalously broken on a plea of Indian outrage which was proved to the hilt to be a web of fiction. Forster then retired to Oswegatchie, and Arnold burnt the château, which, erected about the year 1700, still displays its ruins picturesquely set at the point of a country-house garden which fringes the shore of the Lake of Two Mountains. It is in part roof high, flanked by the remains of its once fortified courtyard, and overhung by forest trees, and presents the most suggestive relic of remote frontier warfare, so far as I know, in all Canada or in the United States, while just above it on a ridge stands a restored stone tower even older than the château.

But we must return to Carleton, who in spite of that calm demeanour which was at once the envy and the solace of those who shared his dangers, must have been happy enough in his past success and present relief from so long and arduous a strain. After completing all arrangements for the governance of the city, and among other precautions having

ordered that none of the disloyal who had left it at the beginning of the siege should return without a permit, he started up the river with the 29th and 47th Regiments, leaving the trusty McLean to receive the still larger reinforcements already ascending to Quebec. At the same time the garrison was paraded, and the volunteers dismissed to their civic duties with the thanks they so thoroughly deserved. The immediate rendezvous of the troops was to be at Three Rivers. The transports could not actually reach that point on account of adverse winds, but Carleton saw them to within a short march of it and then turned back, leaving Fraser in command to complete the occupation and await the rest of the force. The Americans were at Sorel, with a reputed four thousand to five thousand men on the spot or within call. Carleton was back at Quebec in time to receive Burgoyne with the main army on June 1st. In their apparently overwhelming strength these gay soldiers little foreboded the catastrophe that was to overtake them within less than eighteen months.

The harbour was now alive with transports, and the Château St. Louis was gay with the resplendent uniforms of British and German officers, for the king's birthday, June 4th, which fell on an auspicious day for Canada, was observed with fitting ceremony. The 21st, 24th, 29th, 31st, 34th, 53rd, and 63rd Regiments of the line were all here, together with four batteries of artillery. Of Bruns-

wickers there were three infantry regiments, including one of grenadiers, three of dismounted dragoons and a regiment of Hessians, all under the command of Baron Riedesel. The latter, an admirable and tried soldier, was soon to be joined by his courageous wife, who faced the later perils of Burgoyne's campaign, and has left one of the most interesting records of it. On June 5th, Carleton despatched Riedesel to Three Rivers by way of the north shore with a force of English and German troops, a few Canadian volunteers and three hundred Indians. Fraser by this time was waiting at Three Rivers with some of his men in the town and some in transports just below it. Sullivan who was in chief command of the Americans at Sorel saw his opportunity (though, indeed, success would have led to little), and despatched General Thompson with about two thousand men to attack Fraser, and if possible to surprise him. The thirty-five miles he traversed were mainly represented by the length of Lake St. Peter, a broad and shallow expansion of the St. Lawrence. Thompson crossed it near the upper end, and marched down its northern shore. He was happily espied by a Canadian militia captain, and according to another account he was conducted circuitously by an unfriendly Canadian guide.

In any case Fraser was warned in time, and threw out the 26th which repulsed Thompson's attack, while other troops came up to complete his discom-

fiture. Thompson lost a good many men in killed and wounded, and in his escape might have been most severely handled if not actually cut off, but Carleton, in spite of his deliberate refusal to recognize the status of American officers, was strongly imbued with the humane and conciliatory view of the struggle, and seems on this account to have been anxious to drive the rebels out of Canada with as little bloodshed and suffering to individuals as possible. That he maintained this attitude and retained at the same time the confidence of his officers, is a significant tribute to his character. The next morning, leaving a garrison at Three Rivers, the troops sailed for Sorel, which was found deserted. Fraser in the meantime had been sent with a force up the north shore of the St. Lawrence with a view to crossing it higher up, while Burgoyne with the troops at Sorel was despatched up the Richelieu to recover Chambly and St. Johns, as soon as Fraser should have joined him. Burgoyne marched on June 15th, and found Chambly, the scene of Stopford's disgraceful surrender seven months previously, already abandoned by the enemy. Pushing on twelve miles further to St. Johns, where Preston had honourably failed, he found this fort also deserted. The Americans had, in fact, travelled at a headlong pace and in great disorder. They were only a few hours ahead of Burgoyne, but when his scouts reached the head of Lake Champlain there was nothing whatever to be seen of them, and the

evacuation of Canada was complete. General Phillips and Riedesel in the meantime had sailed with a third division up the St. Lawrence towards Montreal till the wind failed them, when they marched to Laprairie and thence across to the Richelieu, joining Burgoyne at St. Johns. Arnold and the men left with him at Montreal had a narrow escape, which is described at some length in the memoirs of his aide-de-camp, Wilkinson, the future somewhat well-known general. The near approach of the British seems to have come as a surprise to this usually alert individual, but he showed his best qualities in getting his troops across the river with much despatch and, by a forced march, reaching St. Johns before Sullivan, and his worst qualities, according to Wilkinson, by carrying off some military supplies and selling them for his own benefit in New York.

So far Carleton's operations had been carried out with complete success and unlooked for rapidity, but now they came to a sudden stop. Canada was saved, and as it proved, for all time. But the aggressive movement into the colonies and the occupation of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, for which immediate object the army had been sent from England, presented difficulties insuperable for the moment. The only route for a large force southward to the Hudson and into the colonies was down the waters of Lake Champlain. But every boat and craft had been either carried off or de-

stroyed by the invaders who were now entrenched at Crown Point and Ticonderoga with a large flotilla of boats, armed and otherwise. Nor was there at that time any road through the dense forests that flourished everywhere to the very verge of the water, bristling on the rocky bluffs and mantling still more thickly on the swampy, low grounds. Carleton's object then was to occupy the above-named forts, not only for the further security of Canada but as a base of such operations against the adjoining colonies as might afterwards appear advisable. No distinct plan at this time seems to have been evolved. The feeling was strong in England that the mere display of so great a force would probably end the war. Indeed the persistent refusal of the British government and people at large to realize the true nature of the American revolt is one of the strangest features of that epoch. Unfortunately for Carleton, as we shall see, and still more so for the success of the king's northern army, the most inefficient minister that has perhaps ever served the nation in this particular capacity, had during the summer succeeded Dartmouth.

Germain, who as Lord George Sackville commanding the British cavalry at Minden had gained unenviable fame for his persistent refusal to charge at the critical moment, was now the fountain of honour and authority at a still more critical one in the nation's history. Unlike so many officers of his day he had never seen America; nor did he show

any measure of anxiety to make up for this disadvantage by acquainting himself with the peculiar difficulties that country offered to military movements. He was haughty, narrow-minded, mean and revengeful to a degree, and "as bellicose in council" said a noted wag, "as pacific in the field." But he had been a good friend to Wolfe as colonel of his regiment, though rarely favouring it, as Wolfe's private letters show, with his august presence. He had an old grudge against Carleton for rejecting one of his favourites and no one believed his protestations to the contrary. Finally, he was self-willed in proportion to his ignorance and to his utter unfitness to direct a campaign upon American soil, but unfortunately he had both the confidence and the ear of the king.

Matters, however, went smoothly at first as there was no great occasion for friction. Carleton had urged the inclusion among the supplies sent with the troops to Quebec of a large number of boats in sections for immediate use on Lake Champlain. A few only of these were forwarded, followed later by others. So while the tedious business of building a fleet on Lake Champlain was in progress, for which purpose in the confused state of the country skilled men were extremely scarce, Carleton set to work to reduce into something approaching order the chaos into which Canada had fallen.

It is not worth while to dwell at length on the reaction which had taken place in the political sym-

pathies, if so definite a word may be used, of the Canadian peasantry. That they were heartily tired of the American occupation is no particular discredit to the provincial troops themselves, who, compelled by necessity and irritated by failure, had not often been more severe with them than the urgency of the case required. But this was quite enough for the simple *habitant* who had so readily believed the wondrous stories by which his neutrality or assistance had been invoked and secured.

The exhaustion of the invader's silver money had been the first shock in the process of disillusionment, while the soon-proven worthlessness of paper money, to say nothing of the occasional exercise of the hated *corvées*, finished the business. Districts had differed much in the measure of their admiration for their deliverers, but as scarcely any gave willing, and very few even grudging, assistance to Carleton, the other side of the question does not call for elaboration. Incidentally it may be noted that the parishes south of the river in the Richelieu county, the richest in Lower Canada, were the most active in the American interest. The priests, some of whom had been badly treated by the invaders, soon had their flocks in hand again though the seigniors never recovered their former influence, as was perhaps natural enough.

Carleton moved about the country with much energy and despatch, now at Chambly and St. Johns, where the improvement of the defences as well as

shipbuilding was proceeding apace, now at Montreal receiving deputations of Indians and enduring those tedious and fantastic ceremonies indispensable to any appeal for their assistance. The Iroquois, those ancient allies, once more swore devotion to their Hanoverian father and his deputy; but the western Indians, who also presented themselves and were equally forward, were accepted by Carleton only as benevolent neutrals. He also granted to Sir John Johnson, loyal son of a famous father, the commission to raise a battalion of Loyalists in his country which was conspicuous afterwards as the King's Royal Regiment of New York. Early in August the governor and commander-in-chief was back at Quebec issuing commissions of the peace, re-opening courts of justice and filling up the vacancies in the legislative council. He received in due course complimentary letters from Germain expressing a high sense of his services, and in one of them the first hint is thrown out of detaching Burgoyne, though under Carleton's orders, to cooperate with Howe. On September 28th we find Carleton stung into retort by a complaint from Germain that he had not sent home with his other despatches his plans for driving out the rebels in the past spring. The general replies "with ironical brevity" that the object at the time of writing was the expulsion of the rebels from Canada, which was accomplished long before any instructions could possibly have had time to reach him.

Burgoyne, Phillips, and Riedesel had come out as major-generals and there were four brigadiers, Fraser, Nesbitt, Powell and Gordon. A painful incident in July was the shooting and killing of the latter from an ambush as he was riding home unarmed from a social visit in the neighbourhood of Chambly far within Canadian territory. The perpetrator was a Connecticut lieutenant, Whitcomb, and Canadians said that the object was the general's watch and sword. Unfortunately his superiors did not thus regard it, for he was soon afterwards advanced two steps in rank, to the indignation of the British and of some even of his own people.

CHAPTER VIII

ADVANCE INTO THE ENEMY'S COUNTRY

THROUGH most of August and the whole of September, 1776, Carleton was among his troops and shipbuilders. The former were cantoned at various points down the Richelieu from St. Johns and also along the overland route from there to Laprairie, while barracks and redoubts were being constructed at Ile-aux-Noix, fifteen miles above St. Johns, and not far from the foot of the lake, the island being intended to serve as a dépôt for supplies during the campaign in prospect. It was not till October 5th that the newly constructed fleet sailed lakewards from St. Johns. All the troops, except the few left in the Canadian garrisons, were now gathered at various points in or near Point au Fer. Few readers will need to be reminded that Lake Champlain is a narrow sheet of water from five to fifteen miles in breadth and stretching a length of some ninety miles due southward from Point au Fer to Crown Point and thence in a greatly contracted channel to Ticonderoga. Here was a portage of nearly two miles at a considerable elevation above the shallow connecting river to the spot whence the navigable but narrow Lake George reached southwards again to

the ten-mile road which tapped the Hudson. On the tenth, the improvised British fleet swept proudly out past the Ile la Mothe before a fresh north wind, Carleton having hoisted his flag, if the expression be permissible of a general, on a modest schooner carrying twelve six-pounders. Like the sea-going warriors of earlier days, however, he carried a master mariner with him, in the person of Lieutenant Dacre, while Captain Pringle of the navy had charge of the navigation of the whole flotilla. The latter, besides Carleton's own ship named after himself, consisted of the *Inflexible* carrying nearly thirty guns, the greater part twelve-pounders, the *Lady Maria* of fourteen six-pounders, six twelve-pounders, and two howitzers, besides a gondola with six nine-pounders. There were also twenty gunboats thirty feet by fifteen, carrying each a brass piece of from nine to twenty-four pounds and four long-boats with a gun apiece serving as armed tenders. With the fleet went a cloud of smaller boats carrying troops, baggage, provisions and stores. The ships were manned by six hundred seamen from the men-of-war and transports at Quebec, while the guns were handled by detachments of artillery.

This unconventional armament now sailed out to wrest from the Americans the naval supremacy of that mimic ocean, which was, nevertheless, of such supreme importance in these eighteenth century wars. On the next day, October 11th, a ship from the fleet of the enemy was espied making

for the island of Valcour, just off the modern Plattsburgh, but fearful of being intercepted her crew raced her hurriedly on to that island and were taken off under the fire of Carleton's guns by the Americans, whose fleet now discovered itself in the narrow strait between the island and the mainland. The squadron numbered only fifteen armed craft of divers sorts, but was about the same in weight of guns as the other and was under the command of Arnold. The north wind and the chase of the stranded ship had carried Carleton's larger vessels so far past the strait where Arnold's ships lay, that they were unable to beat back in time to prove of service. Carleton himself, however, got in with his gunboats and a brisk cannonade was maintained on both sides for some two hours. The Americans were now in a trap from which it was thought that they could not escape in the night. But as no supports came up, and as his ships and gunboats lacked ammunition, Carleton sheered off, and the gunboats anchored in a line across the mouth of Cumberland Bay into which Arnold had retired.

In spite of the chain of British gunboats and the fall of the wind, the resourceful Arnold slipped by them in the night with muffled oars, and before his enemies were any the wiser was out of sight and heading for Crown Point. Arnold puts his losses in killed and wounded at sixty besides two ships, while others were badly damaged. This feat of getting a

battered and ill-built flotilla through the British sentry boats undiscovered was but another instance of Arnold's resourcefulness and dash. But the escape was merely for the moment, for the breeze held fair for the next day and when it dropped in the night the rowboats towed the sloops and schooners. Carleton caught him on the following morning a few miles short of Crown Point.

The fight was soon over. The *Washington*, commanded by General Waterbury, was quickly overpowered. Arnold's flagship, the *Congress*, which took the first fire, was so maltreated that he ran her on shore together with as many of the others as Carleton's guns and the hurry of the moment permitted, and set fire to them all. Two or three gondolas, however, were captured, while only a schooner, sloop and galley got away in safety. Though swept off the lake, yet by burning his ships so promptly, Arnold diminished by so much the value of the victory. Most of his exploits, however, seem in a measure dimmed by some rumour calculated to discredit them. There is a story here, for which Riedesel is the authority, that he left his wounded men in the burning ships, their cries being audible to the British on the lake.

Carleton reports ten vessels burned besides those captured. Arnold in the meantime hurried on to Crown Point and set fire to every building there that would burn, and thence proceeded to Ticonderoga ten miles beyond. There seems to have been no

British loss in this second action. Carleton took on with him to Crown Point the American wounded as well as about a hundred prisoners. The former with his customary humanity he caused to be well cared for; the latter he discharged on parole.

The lake now cleared of every hostile vessel and the British fronts advanced to Crown Point, the vital question arose whether the original scheme of the summer should be carried out at this late date. Crown Point was the obvious base for an attack on Ticonderoga; but the latter was a strong fortress, in good repair, occupied by Gates with a large force, well furnished and accessible to reinforcements and fresh supplies by the Lake George route at its rear. It would almost certainly be a long siege, and Carleton at Crown Point would be a hundred miles from his nearest base of supplies. There were only five or six weeks remaining before the iron hand of winter would seal up the lake, and for much of the interval its surface would be swept by gales of force sufficient to baffle or hamper navigation. The task of supplying a large force by rough trails through the dense snow-laden woods would be a Herculean labour, even if it were worth the effort, above all in the teeth of the scouting parties which the Americans, so efficient in this business, were sure to send out. Carleton, however, took a survey of the fortress from the water, a proceeding that only confirmed his resolution to postpone all further action till the following spring, when with full possession of Lake

Champlain there would be few obstacles to immediate success.

It goes without saying that there were ardent souls present who saw before them only a fortress which might possibly be captured, and in any case would provide that honourable form of entertainment for which they wore a uniform. But Carleton knew the northern winter and also the high qualities of some of the congress troops, and he may well have hesitated to stultify this experience by attempting an exploit which, even if quickly successful, would leave him in a situation laborious to maintain and of doubtful utility. For putting aside these grave difficulties and granting that the fort were immediately captured and that he could sit down within it in strength and supply his garrison with ease, a wild country would still lie between his army and the settled districts to the south and east of it. Against these he could not operate during the winter, as Germain sapiently suggested, without bivouacking his troops in the open, and to submit European troops, or indeed any troops but perhaps an odd party of hardened Rangers, to such a course was to subject them to certain death. Indeed the notion was too absurd for comment by any person of North American experience. Burgoyne was taken into Carleton's council and fully agreed with him, so far as his opinion could be worth anything in a situation physically outside his knowledge. A letter, however, from General Phillips to Burgoyne seems to point

to the fact that both, though soldiers of too much experience to think it likely that Ticonderoga could be captured then, were dissatisfied that nothing in the way of more active demonstration had been undertaken.

Phillips was discontented because a force was not left to winter at Crown Point, a seemingly purposeless proceeding. Phillips was a good officer but may have been somewhat *difficile*. We get a glimpse of him, through Baroness Riedesel's journal, grumbling at his friend and chief Burgoyne in the same way and possibly with better reason. But Carleton's action in this matter was the cause of discontent to many, which may be accounted for by the fact that there were several hundred officers in the country who had never known a Canadian winter, nor as yet been subjected to serious trials of any kind in the North American wilderness. Carleton's decision, however sound, was fraught with ominous significance, for it was the cause of his supersession by Burgoyne, and Burgoyne's promotion led to a great and historical disaster.

So Carleton and his army at the beginning of November retired to Canada into winter quarters; the former to his official post at Quebec and to those civic duties which the faithful Cramahé had been discharging with his accustomed efficiency.

In the meantime the year's operations to the southward may be briefly summarized as follows: Howe, by orders from home, had abandoned Boston in

March as not worth the sacrifice which its retention would entail. Carrying his army by sea he arrived before New York towards the end of June, being there joined by reinforcements which gave him in all over twelve thousand men. By September Washington, who covered and held this city, was after numerous actions compelled to evacuate it and occupy the forts without. Driven in time from these he crossed the Hudson in November and retreated through the Jerseys to Philadelphia followed by Howe in a fashion so futile and ineffective as to have furnished a wealth of ridicule for the historian. The latter now retired to New York and to a long season of social festivities, leaving New Jersey occupied by his scattered detachments. Though in overwhelming force, most of Howe's posts were recaptured by Washington, and one or two severe defeats, accompanied by surrenders, were inflicted while the English general busied himself in providing entertainment for the garrison and citizens of New York. With a force increased to twenty-five thousand men he allowed the spirits of the congress party, now at zero, to rise rapidly during the winter before the cheering spectacle of his own apathy and the masterly strokes of Washington with his comparative handful of ill-clad and ill-fed men. The Loyalists suffered in proportion, and valuable allies were gradually reduced to rebel sympathizers or to ruin. Such in brief outline was the state of affairs while Carleton's army in Canada

was preparing for a campaign in support, as it turned out, of this hopeless general, and while the dismissal of the best available commander was being decided upon by an incapable minister.

There is no occasion to particularize the manner in which Carleton distributed his army this winter. St. Johns and other forts on the Richelieu and at the foot of the lake were all occupied. Some troops wintered along the south shore of the St. Lawrence, while Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec had each its garrison. Many of the soldiers were quartered among the *habitants*, who seem to have quite recovered from their republican leanings and to have received the soldiers in friendly fashion. Carleton, however, could not overcome his soreness at their recent defection.[1] "There is nothing to fear from the Canadians," he writes to Germain, "so long as things are in a state of prosperity; nothing to hope from them when in distress. There are some of them who are guided by sentiments of honour, the multitude is influenced by hope of gain, or fear of punishment."

The merits and demerits of the Quebec Act ceased for the time to concern men's minds. They were all full of the part they had just played in stirring scenes and might yet have again to play. The peasantry had had enough of politics; money was flowing into the country; markets were brisk. Gaiety on a scale that even the old French régime

[1] See appendix P.

had never known was stimulated in Quebec and Montreal by the presence in the colony of several hundred officers, relieved for the time from the tension of war or the possibility of attack. Lady Maria Carleton with her children, now increased to three, had returned and proved a sprightly and popular young hostess at the Château St. Louis. On the last night of 1776, the anniversary of Montgomery's attack, Baron Riedesel tells us that the governor gave a dinner of sixty covers, which was followed by a public fête and a grand ball, where all social Quebec danced out the old year which had broken on them in so dramatic and different a fashion. In the morning of the same day the archbishop celebrated a grand mass in the cathedral, and those citizens who had shown sympathy with the rebels had to do penance in public. The Church which had suffered a serious fright breathed again. The seigniors, whose sustained rights, like those of the Church, had been so successfully twisted into a goad for the fears of the peasantry by the enemies of government, within and without, were more than satisfied. They were a recognized element now in the governor's council and the question of an elective assembly, even an Anglo-French one, had few charms for men who cared nothing for popular government, and, as a matter of fact, rather shrank from the notion of sitting in so mixed an assembly. Indeed if they had a grievance, it was the minor one of being liable to serve on the new juries in criminal

cases and sitting with butchers or peasants.

Preparations for the coming campaign, however, proceeded as steadily as the season permitted. Carleton had sketched out a plan and sent it by Burgoyne, who went home before Christmas for the good of his health and better service of his country, as he puts it with unconscious irony in a letter to Germain written soon after landing. Another reason for his return was the illness of his wife, to whom he was deeply attached. Finally, Carleton wished him to go so that the plans for the coming season's operations might be thoroughly discussed in London; for, as we have said, Burgoyne took with him Carleton's plans for the campaign, which he himself had willingly subscribed to and indeed actually urged upon Germain, though without avail. It has been mentioned that Germain's malevolence towards Carleton arose from the latter's attitude towards a protégé of his in the matter of a staff appointment.[1] Carleton had refused to turn out a good public servant, merely to make way for a new arrival without any better claim whatsoever than Germain's personal countenance.

Carleton was now to reap the fruits of this. It was not till May, 1777, that he received the letter confining his authority to the limits of Canada, and notifying him of the fact that Burgoyne was to command in the coming campaign. If Germain before deciding on this course had already been in

[1] See appendix Q.

receipt of Carleton's reply to one or two of his own futile despatches, his action would be more excusable. But there is documentary evidence that he wished him out of the way long before Carleton had expressed the opinion, in as forcible English as official etiquette admitted, that he thought the minister not only an ignoramus and a fool but a wholly mischievous person. Carleton's notice of removal from all command in the coming campaign had been forwarded as early as the preceding August, but the letter had been entrusted to a ship that had failed to make Quebec and was returned to Germain's hand. This was now enclosed with another that filled Carleton with righteous indignation, and left him with no option as to his procedure. This last communication was dated March 26th and was received in the middle of May. The news of the defeat and surrender at Trenton of eight hundred Hessians had reached England, and upon the top of the belated enclosure of August 22nd Germain heaps the preposterous insinuation that Carleton's decision against a winter occupation of Ticonderoga had released enough of its garrison to give material aid to Washington in achieving this bold stroke against the Hessians. Putting aside the fact that three hundred miles intervened between the Delaware and Lake Champlain, Germain by inference admits that nearly thirty thousand highly disciplined troops are insufficient for his other general to protect the environments of New York from

a quarter of the number of ill-provided and ill-fed provincial militia.

On May 20th Carleton sat down and wrote his reply, which is a lengthy and pungent one. He regrets that Germain's first letter of August 22nd, 1776, had not reached him by November 20th as it might have done, but he had been in no way inconvenienced by the lack of instructions from home at that period, as he imputed their absence to the rather widespread opinion that any officer entrusted with the supreme command ought, from his situation, to be a better judge of what was most expedient than a great general at three thousand miles distance! The irony in this phrase seems somewhat thinly disguised. Carleton then alludes to the well-known events of the winter of 1775-6, which had made any preparations for navigating Lake Champlain notoriously impossible, but reminds Germain that he had constantly urged in the spring the forwarding to Burgoyne's army of a good supply of boats in sections and of artificers. Very few either of the first or second had been sent, and many even of these arrrived too late. Seeing the disregard paid to these pressing matters, Carleton did his Lordship the credit to suppose that his measures in North America had been taken "with such great wisdom that the rebels must immediately be compelled to lay down their arms and implore the king's mercy without our assistance." The order contained in the August letter—which as Carleton points out might

have reached him in November—for occupying the forts and thence despatching all his force not needed for the protection of Canada to operate to the north of Howe in support of him, as a vague midwinter expedition is exposed in its naked absurdity. Carleton then proceeds to rub in the elementary truth that an army cannot conduct an active campaign in that country during the winter season, and he descends to Germain's level of intelligence by describing many homely truths and elementary facts which that exalted personage had been either unable or unwilling to master.

It is not the ignorance of a private gentleman of that day concerning North American physical conditions which startles us—that would be nothing—but the sublime effrontery of a man entrusted by the king with the conduct of a great war still cultivating this complacent and deplorable indifference after months of office. Carleton explains, with a forbearance not always so evident, that the soldiers composing this suggested midwinter expedition, assuming that they were ably led and well provisioned, which last would be impossible, assuming also that the enemy was considerate enough not to harass them before they got in touch with Howe, which again was quite unlikely, would nevertheless have all perished from cold alone. Indeed to have attempted the investment of Ticonderoga in November, would have been, writes Carleton, a risky and laborious business even had its

capture then been of great practical utility. "I regard it as a particular blessing that your Lordship's despatch did not arrive in due time," he adds. With regard to any assistance rendered to Washington by troops set free from Ticonderoga, Carleton does not seem to think it worthy of argument, but with justifiable sarcasm calls the attention of Germain to the numerical strength of Howe's army, which, with ordinary precautions, could have easily prevented such a disaster as Trenton "though all the rebels from Ticonderoga had reinforced Mr. Washington's army."

As regards the immediate future, he notes that General Burgoyne is to have the command of almost the whole army of Canada for an attack on the famous fortress and subsequent movements, whereas he himself is ordered to remain at Quebec throughout a season of the year when no legislative duties require his presence, and a lieutenant-governor of tried worth and experience is always in residence. The censure that this change of plan implies seems to Carleton as unmistakable as it is unjust, and he proceeds at some length and in trenchant and lucid fashion to summarize the events of the last eighteen months: the critical situations he has emerged from with success, and the difficulties that he has overcome with scant means, though cut off from all the world. With regard to the obstacles inevitable to a large force moving up or down the Champlain route, he suggests an object lesson to Germain in

the failure of Amherst in 1759 to relieve Wolfe by this channel when motives for haste were of extreme urgency, when opposition was ineffective, and an officer of high repute was in command backed by a powerful force and a sympathetic countryside, which now was hostile.

"But I," writes Carleton, referring to the previous year (1776), "pent up in this town till May in a province mostly disaffected and over-run by rebels, when troops arrived a numerous army to expel, who in their retreat burned or destroyed all that might be of use to us. Arrived at the end of those navigable waters, not a boat, not a stick, neither materials nor workmen, neither stores nor covering nor axemen! All must be sought for amidst confusion and the distracted state of an exhausted province. Yet a greater marine force was built and equipped, a greater marine force defeated, than had ever appeared on that lake before. Two brigades were taken across and remained at Crown Point till November 2nd, for the sole purpose of drawing off the attention of the rebels from Mr. Howe, and to facilitate his victories; nature had then put an end to ours. His winter quarters, I confess, I never thought of covering. I never could imagine why, if an army to the southward found it necessary to finish their campaign and to go into winter quarters, your Lordship could possibly expect troops so far north to continue their operations lest Mr. Howe should be disturbed during the winter! If that great army near the sea-

coast had their quarters insulted, what could your Lordship expect to be the fate of a small corps detached into the heart of the rebel country in that season? For these things I am so severely censured by your Lordship, and this is the first reason assigned why the command of the troops is taken from me and given to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne."

A week later, on May 27th, Carleton wrote again sending in his resignation. "Finding I can no longer be of use to the king's service on this continent, either in a civil or military capacity, under your Lordship's administration, on the contrary, apprehending that I may occasion no small detriment to it, for all the marks of your Lordship's displeasure affect, not me, but the king's service and the tranquillity of his people, I therefore flatter myself I shall obtain his royal permission to return home this fall, the more so that from your first entrance into office you began to prepare the minds of all men for this event, wisely foreseeing that under your Lordship's administration it must certainly come to pass, and for my own part I do not think it just that the private enmity of the king's servants should add to the disturbances of his reign. For these reasons I shall embark with great satisfaction, still entertaining the ardent wish that after my departure you may adopt measures tending to promote the safety and tranquillity of this unfortunate province, at least that the dignity of the Crown may not appear beneath your Lordship's concern."

This outspoken arraignment of Germain's attitude towards him was almost Carleton's last word on the subject in his despatches which continue for another year. For though his method of tendering his resignation to Germain left no opening, even though the desire had been there for combating it, arrangements for filling his place could not readily be made. Of Germain it is related in Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne* that a contemporary statesman remarked: "He endured every species of indignity from Sir Guy Carleton in particular and other officers with whom he was obliged to correspond. There was a general diffidence as to his honour and a general disrespect for his person." Regarding Germain's rancour towards Carleton, a year previously the king himself wrote to Lord North: "That there is great prejudice, perhaps not unaccompanied with rancour, in a certain breast [Germain's] against Governor Carleton is so manifest to whosoever has heard the subject mentioned that it would be idle to say any more than that it is a fact."[1]

[1] Like most other soldiers of the day, Carleton despised Germain. In their official correspondence, Carleton took little pains to conceal this feeling, while Germain was much more restrained. By the tone of some of his letters, Carleton would seem to have courted recall. This is borne out by a passage in his brother's letter to Shelburne, June 13th, 1777 —"his correspondence with *Cain* will not dispose the latter to continue him in his government." (Shel. Mss. 213, p. 97. See also appendix "T").

CHAPTER IX

CARLETON SUPERSEDED BY BURGOYNE

CARLETON remained in office another year, and continued his administration with unabated zeal. But he was very sore and could not resist a dig at Germain from time to time in his official correspondence. Burgoyne arrived in Canada almost simultaneously with Germain's letter to Carleton. There is no reason whatever to suspect him of disloyalty to his former chief; on the contrary he had faithfully presented Carleton's plans for the coming campaign to Germain in London, and had made his own recommendations freely and more or less on the same lines. But Germain had another plan, and Burgoyne seems to have accepted it uncritically and without reserve. Carleton's scheme, agreed to by Burgoyne it will be remembered, was to occupy Ticonderoga as a base, and then to act to the southward or more particularly against Connecticut and Massachusetts as it should seem good, having always in view the distance from Howe's army and the very difficult nature of the intervening country.

Germain's plan was excellent in theory, namely, to join hands with Howe and hold the natural artery formed by the Hudson and the lakes, which

is a straight line from New York to Canada. Burgoyne was to push or fight his way to Albany, and Howe was to send a force up the Hudson to meet him. This would have cut off the New England colonies from the rest of the country, and the bare idea of it thoroughly alarmed Washington, though his fears may have been modified by his growing acquaintance with Howe. Germain, for whom physical geography had little meaning, had not taken any account of the difficulties of the route to Albany, which were not insurmountable, and Burgoyne could not help him. But unfortunately he omitted to take Howe, the other partner in the scheme, into his confidence, and that supine, but, in this case, blameless commander, knew nothing whatever about it. As we all know, he was waging independent war to the south of New York when Burgoyne was struggling to his fate at Saratoga; indeed Howe was actually sailing off to Philadelphia at the moment that Germain's victim was surrendering his army as prisoners of war. The explanation of this would be well nigh incredible had it not been given by the minister's own secretary. The despatch containing Howe's instructions lay awaiting Germain's signature, and the latter, omitting this formality in his hurry to get into the country, forgot it on his return.[1] A second expedition was also planned by Germain, to follow the

[1] See appendix R.

old alternative route from Canada to the Hudson by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk valley; in other words the two sides of the triangle of which the direct Champlain route from Montreal to Albany formed the base. Colonel St. Leger was in charge of this expedition with some six hundred men, German chasseurs and Johnson's New York Loyalists mainly, with a force of Indians. He was to join Burgoyne on the Hudson after forcing Fort Stanwix, which lay high up the Mohawk not far from Lake Oneida, and was now held by seven hundred congress troops under Ganesvort.

After a month's march St. Leger got within touch of the fort on March 3rd, 1777, and while engaged in some necessary road cutting heard of a reinforcement of eight hundred militiamen marching to reinforce the garrison. Sending out Sir John Johnson with all his Indians and eight hundred soldiers, they intercepted the colonials, and by means of an ambush killed or wounded just half their number. This, however, was the only success. The fort was impregnable to St. Leger's light guns, and while engaged in futile attempts upon it news came that Arnold with two thousand men was ascending the Mohawk. At this the Indians who had lost heavily in the skirmish above mentioned, known as the battle of Oriskany, could not be induced to stay even by such eloquent partisans as Johnson, Butler, and Claus. Upon this St. Leger had no choice but to retreat, which he did in safety, leaving, however,

his tents, guns, and stores. Though a brave man he seems to have had no particular qualities of leadership. Letters both from Butler and himself to Carleton on August 11th and 15th, make a good deal of the fight at Oriskany, and state that St. Leger on his own responsibility assumed the title of brigadier. The next letter sets out the hopelessness of taking Fort Stanwix, and there is nothing more till he reports himself at Montreal with most of his men but without his effects.

This failure in a minor degree encouraged the armies of congress. Carleton does not appear to have rated St. Leger highly. During the first three weeks of June the troops for Burgoyne were collected at the foot of Lake Champlain, while the 29th, 31st, and 34th Regiments, together with part of the 11th and some Germans, were left with Carleton for the defence of Canada. Carleton himself was there to see the last of them and make such final arrangements with Burgoyne as his command in Canada made necessary. There was no friction whatever between the two leaders. Burgoyne declared subsequently in parliament that if Carleton had been making preparations for an enterprise of his own he could not have given himself more assiduously to the task. Riedesel has left in writing his regrets that his former chief was not to be in command. Many must have agreed with him, though Burgoyne's personal charm must have helped, no doubt, to give a cheerful feeling to all around him.

Confidence was hardly required; every one, all such at least as were fresh from Europe, looked forward to a mere promenade, so great was thought to be the demoralization of the congress party and so strong the Loyalist element waiting to declare itself.

Burgoyne was a man of good birth. His father, a dashing captain in the army and second son of Sir John Burgoyne, had run through his own small and his wife's considerable fortune, and died on the King's Bench. Young Burgoyne went from Westminster School into a cavalry regiment, and by versatile talents, aided by good looks and a winning manner, he rose rapidly both in military and social life. At thirty-three he was a brigadier, commanding a mixed British and Portuguese legion, and, besides other achievements, covered himself with glory by the capture of Valentia sword in hand at the head of his men. He entered parliament in time to receive as a member the thanks of the House to himself and his corps for their brilliant services under Count La Lippe. He furthered his fortunes by a runaway love match with a daughter of the house of Derby, whose father forgave them and took him into favour. Though with some weakness for bombast he was an able speaker and a formidable opponent of Clive and the East India Company in the House of Commons. He was a dramatist and versifier of considerable reputation, his plays being acted at the theatres, and his poems very much the vogue in society. To soldiering, however, he was most at-

tached, and made a quite exhaustive study of the chief European armies, which he committed to writing, and supplied Chatham with considerable information on the subject. At the outbreak of the American troubles Burgoyne's sympathies were mixed, but he had no scruple about using force. He himself, however, shrank from employment in America, merely from a soldier's dislike to being ordered on service against armed civilians. Before sailing for Boston as junior major-general in February, 1775, he made a long speech in the House of Commons in which he denied having sought employment in this war, but having been selected for service by the king felt bound to accept it.

In short Burgoyne was a man of deserved reputation as well as of engaging personality, brave, honourable, and quite equal to responsible command in any continental army of the day. He was, perhaps, a little vain, and from lack of special experience not quite suited to this particular campaign, while the further fact that a general who undoubtedly was qualified for the task had just been removed from command, adds another mite of bad luck to the load which Burgoyne's reputation had to bear.

It was in truth a splendid force of some seven thousand men that had marched or sailed with Burgoyne; not all, however, were well suited to backwoods warfare, particularly some of the German regiments whose men wore enormous thigh boots and gigantic hats, and carried sabres of mediæval

calibre, which three items alone weighed more than the whole equipment of a British linesman. But all at least were disciplined and brave, while the artillery was powerful and the transport ample. The composition of the force hardly concerns us, as we must resist any temptation to follow its gradually declining fortunes to the catastrophe of four months later and two hundred miles away that in effect decided the fate of North America and influenced the history of the world.

The leave-taking of the officers serving with Carleton seems, from some of their accounts, to have been an unusually warm one, and when he turned his back on the expedition that he ought to have led, and his face northwards, he had nothing to reproach himself with if he had much to regret. Removed from all touch with the stirring scenes to the southward, Carleton still had his hands full of details throughout the summer and autumn. Burgoyne, though in direct communication with Germain, made from time to time demands on Canada for detachments of men or animals. Carleton in his position had no authority for granting these reliefs, and was always pleased to remind Germain of that fact, though he forwarded them whenever possible. Carleton had been strongly against calling out too many militiamen, as the peasantry were still in a condition of uncertainty and suspicion. A dread of the old French military compulsion, awakened by agitators and quickened

by the attempted musters of 1775, was still great within them.

For a further replenishing of Burgoyne's force after the latter had occupied and garrisoned Ticonderoga, in July, 1777, Carleton had been compelled to sanction a *corvée*, though with great reluctance, the *habitants* being just now in his opinion "more worthy of compassion than blame." His forebodings were right, for the few hundred militia that were raised with difficulty for Burgoyne deserted in troops as his prospects of success declined. Carleton's frequent warnings as to the temper of the Canadian militia had fallen on deaf ears, and the British government persisted in the delusion that as many thousand as were required could be raised by the simple method of proclamation. The Indians of whom many hundred started with Burgoyne were worse than useless, for with at least as much reason as the French militia they fell away before the impending disaster even more readily. Moreover, their employment, heralded by a somewhat injudicious and bombastic speech of Burgoyne's, gave a handle to the enemies of the government on both sides of the Atlantic that proved of inestimable value, and with more logic alarmed the potential Loyalists dwelling within the sphere of operation for the safety of their homes and families. It did not matter that the other party had enlisted their assistance when possible, as in the case of Arnold and Montgomery, and that in every North American

war they had been a recognized and normal factor in the game, nor again that their interests were as much involved as those of the European races. Whether justly, or unjustly, their enrolment now could be represented with ease and plausibility as a heinous crime. Here, as elsewhere in this war, they were virtually useless, save as scouts, while the occasional outrages inseparable from their employment were trumpeted throughout the world.

Carleton had much correspondence just now with Hamilton and the officers holding the far western posts at Niagara and Detroit, for the distant turmoil of the war and the overtures of the agents of congress in those parts were bringing out the western Indians and forcing them to take a hand with whichever side made them the highest bid. By September sinister messages were coming to Carleton from Powell, who was commanding the force left at Ticonderoga, for a great part of his garrison was sick, the lines of communication with Burgoyne, now on the Hudson, were broken, and continuous attacks were being inflicted on his own post by Seth Warner, who had twice summoned him to surrender. Four companies of the 53rd had also been cut off and captured.

St. Leger had now returned from his repulse at Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk, and Carleton sent him on immediately to Ticonderoga, though as he says with a side thrust at Germain "without any power to do so." And so the summer and early

autumn passed away. Domestic concerns were at a lull pending greater events, and the machinery of government was mainly occupied with military affairs. The news from Burgoyne grew worse and worse, till on October 11th Powell heard he had been defeated and was retreating. He then wrote urgently to Carleton, pointing out the hopeless condition of the fortress in event of a disaster to the southward, and begging instructions. Carleton replied he had no authority over him whatever, but if he had, seeing his own ignorance of Burgoyne's situation or intentions, he should leave the matter to Powell's own judgment, only reminding him that he should either work on the fortifications at once or abandon the spot before it was too late.

On October 20th the news of the surrender at Saratoga reached Powell, and three weeks later he was at St. Johns with his force and stores intact. Before abandoning the fortress every wooden building and defence was destroyed, and the brief but famous story of Carillon, as the French called it, was finished. Its walls and bastions sank into decay, though happily their fragments still survive among the trim scenes of modern life as the most suggestive object, perhaps, next to Quebec itself, in all these northern provinces of ancient and pregnant strife. Carleton would have been more than human had he not felt a qualm or two of bitter satisfaction at the retribution which Germain's flouting of himself had brought upon that fatuous

minister. But though opposition orators in parliament might openly rejoice at the humiliation of their country, Carleton was the last man to breathe one word of ill-placed censure on his supplanter, the lesser sinner, nay, rather the victim of this disastrous blunder, nor is there the least note of triumph in his laconic business-like despatches to Germain.

Almost every one who has dealt with, and probably every one who has studied, this period has indulged his readers or himself in some measure of speculation as to what might have resulted if the cool-headed Carleton with his intimate experience of local warfare and local conditions and topography, his wise caution and self-abnegation in critical moments, had been in Burgoyne's place, and above all had planned the campaign. Burgoyne was infinitely more sinned against than sinning, but he was without American experience and detailed heavily-accoutred Germans, under officers who could not speak English, on difficult enterprises into remote forests where local knowledge and agility were the chief requisites. He perhaps thought more of his own reputation than of his country's when prudence should have warned him to retreat before it was too late. He refused to turn back when such a movement was still possible and many brave officers urged it as the wisest course, and when he did retrace his steps his movements were so dilatory as to ensure disaster. He had wasted time in the advance, he

wasted more in his brief attempt to retreat, which was much worse, and his march was accompanied by a touch of personal frivolity and untimely luxury at his own headquarters which seemed to some of those about him to strike a jarring note at this moment of impending ruin.

Burgoyne, however, made a good case for himself, insisting that his instructions were explicit to march on Albany. Not only that, but he pictured Howe as advancing to meet him and felt that his own retreat might mean Howe's ruin; strict obedience to orders and chivalrous thought for a brother general were in fact his guiding motives. If Carleton had followed his own scheme none of these risks would have been run; even if he had followed Germain's will-o'-the-wisp one cannot imagine that he would have maintained so blind a faith in the Howe myth without some sign, or in any case that he would have allowed himself to be entrapped. Carleton had neither the contempt for the colonial troops, nor the exaggerated belief in effective Loyalist aid which the king, Germain, Burgoyne, and even Phillips were possessed of. These are, however, futile speculations. Perhaps Burgoyne's presence and Germain's fatuity were a wise dispensation of Providence in arranging the world's future. Carleton's interference might perhaps have left worse legacies for after generations. But in judging of current events so philosophical an attitude would be misplaced, and we must regard them from the

point of view of a British soldier of the time performing his duty to his king and country.

Carleton was now weary of his anomalous position. No fitting successor had as yet been found, till in October the news arrived that Haldimand had been nominated. It appears that the new governor when he reached London from Switzerland, his native country, heard much talk of Germain's unjust and foolish treatment of Carleton and requested that his own appointment should be cancelled. This was not accepted and Haldimand sailed in October, 1777, but baffled by contrary winds, was driven back into port and had to remain in England till the following season. There was, therefore, no choice for Carleton but to remain.

The legislative council had not met since its first session in 1775 had been dissolved by the alarms of war. The Quebec Act had not yet been put in operation and the courts of justice placed upon a proper footing. In 1775 Carleton had been compelled to nominate the judges himself, for the country had been left to chaos. No one certainly was calculated to make a better choice. He had appointed or maintained in their appointments, Mabane, Dunn, and Panet as the three judges at Quebec, while Fraser, Marteilhe, and de Rouville held like positions at Montreal.

A clause in the Quebec Act had annulled all appointments held prior to it, but Carleton regarded this as a mere form, though a useful in-

strument for evicting any public servants who had failed in capacity, or in their duties. The home government, however, looked upon it as an admirable opportunity for foisting protégés on the Canadian establishment, and this division of opinion gave rise to a correspondence between Carleton and Germain as acrid as their letters on matters military and almost as entertaining. "I should have reproached myself with an abuse of power and trust if under the sanction of that clause I had turned out any of the king's inferior servants who had executed the duties of their offices with integrity and honour." "Two judges at Montreal," Carleton goes on to say, "have been turned out by his Lordship's nominees,[1] Livius and Owen." Alluding to the former he continues: "'Tis unfortunate that your Lordship should find it necessary for the king's service to send a person to administer justice to the people when he understands neither their laws, manners, customs, nor their language, and that he must turn out of his place a gentleman who has held it with reputation for many years, well allied in the province and who had suffered considerably for his attachment to his duty both as a magistrate and a loyal subject." Carleton's judgment in this case is singularly endorsed by the fact that the ill-used gentleman went back to England and in no long time became master of the rolls and Sir William Grant. Livius, his supplanter,

[1] See appendix S.

as a German-Portuguese with a legal experience gained in New England, was not a happy appointment, though he was quite clever enough to make a good deal of disturbance about his fees and give Carleton great trouble, "greedy of power, more greedy of gain, imperious and impetuous in his temper, but learned in the ways and eloquence of the New England provinces, valuing himself greatly on his knowledge of how to manage governors."

Carleton, unlike Burgoyne, professed no exceptional powers of composition, but it must be admitted that he was roused at times by the performances of the colonial office into bits of English that it is a positive pleasure to transcribe. Plagued by the continual appearance of these placemen, generally the representatives of backstair influence, sometimes the inferior deputies of inferior men at home with political influence who took the lion's share of the salary, Carleton wrote at another time to Germain his dread lest the country "should produce what may be found in others; characters regardless of the public tranquillity but zealous to pay court to a powerful minister and, provided they can flatter themselves with a prospect of obtaining by this protection advantages under the Crown, are unconcerned should the means of obtaining them prove ruinous to the king's service." This, too, is plain speaking, but Germain was getting used to it by now and was to hear still worse things when Burgoyne, and more particularly Burgoyne's

friends, spoke their minds in parliament at a later date. Monk, the solicitor-general in Nova Scotia, was among those nominated, to the exclusion of a well tried and deserving person. Monk, however, was in himself a fitting appointment, but Carleton objected to an equally efficient native of the province being passed by.[1] Monk never forgot the quite just objections of Carleton. Carleton's attitude in all these matters is the more worthy of confidence from the fact that he himself had nothing to gain in the way of favour or support. He considered that he had done with Canada and was only acting in the best interests of the country and of the successor for whose advent he anxiously awaited. All this was the more irritating, as the clause in the Quebec Act annulling all present offices had been introduced with Carleton's approval for the express purpose of eliminating unworthy officers nominated by the pernicious system in vogue. Carleton's retention of efficient servants was in keeping with the spirit in which he intended the Act to be applied. Germain's interpretation of it, on the other hand, was for the perpetuating of those very abuses.[2]

A militia bill was passed which made every able-bodied man liable to be called out in defence of his country. This the *habitants* regarded with great dislike. It was ordained, moreover, that those

[1] William Grant, whom Monk replaced, was not a native of Canada. He resided there for only two years, 1775–1777.

[2] See appendix T.

not included in musters should perform the agricultural duties of those who were. After Burgoyne's surrender there was another invasion scare, as well there may have been. There were nearly four thousand regulars in the colony, but the Americans by now were in considerable part no longer raw militia, but hardened and experienced soldiers. The Canadian militia numbered on paper some eighteen thousand men. In the autumn of 1777, Carleton called out one-third of the force from the Three Rivers and Montreal districts under those zealous officers de Tonnancour, de Longueuil, and de Lanaudière. The muster was successful, but the immediate alarm of invasion passed away and the men were disbanded. Some half a dozen persons, too, were arrested this year for treasonable practices, and Livius who was sore at the strict limitation of legal fees which Carleton had managed to secure in the interests of a poor community, used some of these arrests as a means of airing his importance and retaliating on the government. Carleton had also nominated a few members of the council as a committee to work in immediate accord with himself during the period of strain and crisis represented by the years 1776 and 1777. It was a time of urgent peril calling for instant action. Many of his council were in the field, and some were prisoners in the States. Livius was not included, very naturally, seeing that he was a German-Portuguese who had recently come from New England as one of Ger-

main's placemen. There was a kind of opening in the armour of the peace constitution of Canada for a pettifogging lawyer to assail, and Livius gave a good deal of trouble by carrying the matter to the privy council. After Carleton had arrived in England the matter was brought to a head when the council deprived Livius of his office.[1]

[1] Livius was not "sore at the strict limitation of legal fees which Carleton had secured." When using "some of these arrests as a means of airing his importance," Livius found Carleton in agreement, for he was right. When Carleton nominated "a few members of the council as a committee to work in immediate accord with himself," he was contravening his instructions and evading the check which the home government had intended to place upon the actions of the governor by saddling him with a council. Livius was not "one of Germain's placemen." Dartmouth appointed him to the bench, and though Germain promoted him to the chief justiceship that was only the fulfillment of Dartmouth's promise. Livius was not removed "after Carleton had arrived in England," nor was his removal the work of the council. Carleton himself did it, and the incident reflects no credit upon him.

Towards the close of 1777, Livius approached him privately and remonstrated with him regarding his "privy council" referred to above and his refusal to present the royal instructions which directed the adjustment of the constitution to meet the just desires of the English mercantile minority. As this failed to move the governor, Livius waited till he could act more effectively. In April, 1778, he raised both points in the legislative council. His motion calling upon the governor to produce his instructions was defeated by a straight party vote between the "French party" and the English party. His motion pointing out the illegality of the privy council was not allowed to face this test, for the council was summarily dissolved by Carleton. Six days elapsed before Carleton dismissed Livius, and from their intercourse during that interval the latter gathered that the former's "offence at these motions had blown over." Carleton undoubtedly desired to remove Livius from the council, but there was a difficulty in the way. The chief justice was *ex officio* a member of the council, and Carleton could find no flaw in his administration of justice. On April 30th, however, Livius upset a popular judgment against a most

Carleton's kindheartedness towards the American militiamen that fell into his hands is a matter of history. Here is an address he made to his prisoners at Quebec when he sent them home, which may be accepted as typical if not accurate to the letter: "My lads, why did you come to disturb an honest man in his government that never did you any harm in his life? I never invaded your property nor sent a single soldier to distress you. Come, my boys, you are in a very painful situation and not able to go home with any comfort. I must provide you with shoes, stockings and good warm waistcoats. I must give you some good victuals to carry you home. Take care, my lads, that you do not come here again, lest I should not treat you so kindly." In his last letter to Germain he told him that if the character of

unpopular man. Though Livius was right, Carleton seems to have jumped to the conclusion that he had found the much desired flaw. He dismissed him immediately, but almost as immediately he discovered his mistake.

Livius at once appealed to the home government and the latter regarded Carleton's drastic action as a very grave matter. There was a thorough investigation by the board of trade and the privy council, but Carleton shunned it in spite of repeated invitations to appear. In his written charges, which were far from honest, he criticised only the councillor and not the chief justice at all—though it was the chief justice whom he had dismissed. The result of the investigation was decisive. Carleton was condemned not only for his dismissal of Livius but also for the course of action which had brought them into conflict, and new instructions were dispatched to Haldimand to prevent him continuing in that course. Livius was reinstated and ordered back to his post. ("Canadian Historical Review," vol. 5, p. 196, A. L. Burt, ("The Tragedy of Chief Justice Livius").

the men sent to Canada were of no consideration to his Lordship, the tranquillity of the people, and the security of so important a province, the dignity and the dominion of the Crown, he hoped, at least, would appear worthy of some attention. "I have long and impatiently looked out for the arrival of a successor. Happy at last to learn his near approach, that into hands less obnoxious to your Lordship I may resign the important commands with which I have been honoured. Thus, for the king's service, as willingly I lay them down as for his service I took them up —the most essential and in truth the only service in my power to render your Lordship's administration." These are Carleton's last words in closing this chapter of his history, and not unworthy ones.

Haldimand, Carleton's long-looked-for successor, arrived in Quebec on June 26th, 1778. Carleton returned to England on the same vessel after more than eleven years of service, and nearly eight of actual residence. He was the only British general who recrossed the Atlantic during this episode wearing the laurels of victory, and of all generals his task had been the hardest. He little thought then, that ten years later he would be called once more to the thorny seat of which he had now grown weary.

CHAPTER X

PREPARATIONS FOR PEACE

THE surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, proved to be the last military operation of any moment in the War of Independence. The thoughts of almost all Englishmen were now from different motives turned towards peace, those of the Tories slowly and reluctantly, those of the Whigs with a sense of relief in which an inevitable measure of humiliation was tempered by the sordid satisfaction of a party triumph. For then as to-day in England colonial problems, fraught with fateful issues and understood not at all save by a mere handful of Englishmen, were used as weapons of party strife and handled in debate with a complacent and conspicuous ignorance.

Parliament met two days after the tidings reached England. After a long series of fierce attacks and a gradually dwindling majority Lord North's government, in spite of its changing policy, succumbed upon March 20th, 1782. Further misfortunes had contributed to this. St. Eustatius, St. Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat, and worse than all Minorca, had surrendered one after the other to the French and Spaniards. The greater West Indian Islands were in imminent danger. The serious straits to which

Washington's army in the north and Greene's in the south were respectively reduced were not realized in England, and perhaps fortunately so, since further bloodshed at this date could only have produced further calamities. Even prior to North's fall Shelburne, as secretary of state, had despatched Richard Oswald, a well informed and very diplomatic merchant, to sound Dr. Franklin at Paris with a view to terms. A week later Rockingham had formed a new cabinet with Fox and Shelburne as secretaries of state. Oswald was sent back to Paris and to Franklin, accompanied this time by Thomas Grenville, who was to treat with Vergennes for a peace with France on separate lines. This created some feeling between the French and Americans, and may therefore be set down to the credit account of British diplomacy. Germain was the only member of North's government who had resolutely set his face against concessions. So, bellicose as ever in council, he was transferred to the Upper House where open protest was made against the admission of a man who had been cashiered for cowardice in the field.

Clinton was now returning from his command at New York wearied by five years of work, worry, and disappointment, and Carleton was to go out and reign in his stead though with much wider powers; for it was now the season of propitiation, the promoting of peace, and the carrying out of such treaties as it was hoped would shortly be executed. By far the

most formidable item in a sufficiently complicated programme was that of the Loyalists, the colonists who had fought for the Crown, and the great number of non-combatants, incapacitated by sex or age from bearing arms but who had passively espoused the same failing cause. For these and other critical operations it was essential to send out a man of high integrity, of stainless honour, of wide experience, a man trusted by both parties and in both countries, and for once there was no hesitation and no cavilling at the choice. Once again Carleton set out to face a situation bristling with difficulties and to be the judge and arbiter of conflicting interests under the guns of a powerful and not yet conciliated foe.

He had spent three quiet years mainly on the estate he had bought in Hampshire, and now sailed for New York in the beginning of April, 1782. Deliberations of a tentative but hopeful nature were proceeding in Paris and the suspension of serious operations in America though mutually observed was quite informal. His commission was dated April 4th. "His Majesty's affairs," so run the instructions, "are so situated that further deliberations give way to the necessity of instant decision, and whatever inconveniences may arise we are satisfied will be compensated by the presence of a commander-in-chief of whose discretion, conduct and ability His Majesty has long entertained the highest opinion." Carleton was invested with extraordinary powers. He was a commissioner entrusted

with carrying out the conditions of peace when these should be formulated and signed. He was also "general and commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's forces within the colonies lying in the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia to the Floridas, and inclusive of Newfoundland and Canada should they be attacked."

His naval coadjutor, with whom it may be at once stated he worked in perfect harmony, was the Honourable Robert Digby, "Admiral and Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels employed in North America." It was left to Carleton's discretion, in case of attack by the Franco-American army, whether to fight or to make terms for withdrawal. The great importance of extricating the troops for His Majesty's service elsewhere, if compatible with honour, was duly insisted upon. Not often we fancy has a British commander been despatched on a mission at once so critical and painful in the execution and yet so barren of prospective glory. The Loyalist refugees were earnestly recommended by the king to Carleton's "tenderest and most honourable care," as well they may have been, and we may readily guess that a general who had earned such a reputation for humanity towards vanquished foes was not likely to fail in his duty towards gallant friends in their hour of trial and distress. The safe withdrawal of so large a body of troops was indeed of much consequence, for though peace was probable with the Americans it was less

so with France, while Holland and Spain had yet to be reckoned with, the latter no mean antagonist in her still familiar and convenient battleground of the West Indies. "It was impossible to judge," wrote Rockingham's government to Carleton with a sane discrimination, rare indeed then and not universal now, "of the precise situation at so great a distance." In this case, at any rate, even though driven to it by despair, the British government may be credited with sending out the ablest and most experienced man at their disposal. It is also to their credit that they loyally maintained, though shaky and shifting among themselves, their admirable resolves. "The resources of your mind," wrote these now thoroughly sobered statesmen, "in the most perplexing and critical situations have been already tried and proved successful. At this perilous moment they give hope to the nation and entitle you to a most honourable support from His Majesty's ministers of which we are authorized to give you the fullest assurance."

Carleton arrived in New York on May 9th, 1782, and received the usual addresses of welcome and confidence, genuine enough no doubt in his case. The first despatches which reached him from England were full of fears for the safety of Halifax in view of French fleets supposed to be prowling on the Atlantic coast, and announced the deflection to Nova Scotian waters of Hessian recruits destined for New York. But the next told a different story, for while Carleton was on the ocean Rodney's great

victory in the West Indies had altered the situation, and dismantled French battleships were making their way to Boston for repairs leaving other less fortunate consorts at the bottom of the sea.

Carleton had found the troops of his command occupying the city of New York, and the immediately adjacent districts within definite lines. Within the latter too, besides the provincial Loyalist regiments and that part of the civil population who adhered actively or passively to the Crown, were a great number of refugees from all parts of the northern and middle colonies, dependent for the most part on money and supplies provided by the British government.

Up the Hudson and in touch with his outposts lay Washington with the northern army and its French contingents. The entire open country was controlled by congress, its officials and its laws. Those who had befriended the Crown throughout the whole or part of the seven years of war had been either driven to one or other of the seaports held by the British or led the lives of pariahs as they clung desperately to the wreck of their property, hoping vainly for some turn of fortune. Of the large number of Americans in the rural districts, who, to use a homely modern idiom, "sat upon the fence" with judgment during the war and descended at the right moment on the right side, history can never take count. Military statistics give room for some approximate inference by the simple process of sub-

traction. The results arrived at seem in keeping with ordinary human nature and the sparsely settled condition of so vast a country.

Moreover, unlike most revolutions, this one had not been provoked by cruelty, suffering or oppression in the ordinary sense of the word. Such terms would be ridiculously inapplicable. The "chains and slavery" of Patrick Henry, "whose efficacy" said his rivals "was wholly seated in his tongue" were metaphorical. Nor was it wholly a war, as some would have it, of principles and ideals. There were substantial grievances, commercial mainly, and chiefly felt and resented by the propertied classes, a strong element of whom led the common people by whirlwinds of fiery and skilful eloquence.

Leslie at Charleston in South Carolina with Greene and the army of the South watching him, occupied a very similar position to that of Carleton in New York. Savannah, in Georgia, a province both new and weak and still subsidized by Great Britain, was occupied by a smaller force. The evacuation of both these places had been decided upon. St. Augustine again in East Florida was occupied by a British force, but was scarcely threatened, and indeed had become a resort of refugee settlers with loyal views till it passed to Spain at the peace and necessitated a second flitting.

All these posts and districts were under the command of Carleton, who was almost immediately confronted with an awkward incident, a legacy

from Clinton's government, though no fault of his nor indeed of anybody but the obscure persons concerned in the outrage. For it so happened that a few weeks previously a Loyalist named Philip White of New Jersey had met a violent death at the hands of the rival party. This so enraged the Tories that, acting under the instructions of the associated board of Loyalists presided over, strangely enough, by Dr. Franklin's son, Captain Lippincott of the New Jersey corps captured and hanged one Joshua Huddy, a captain in the congress militia. They left him suspended to a tree with this inscription pinned on his breast: "We are determined to hang man for man while there is a refugee existing. Up goes Huddy for Philip White." This raised a storm among the Americans and in congress, and peremptory demands were made for the punishment of Lippincott. Neither Clinton nor Carleton, who found the dispute raging, attempted to extenuate so irregular a proceeding, whatever the crime that provoked it. Lippincott was tried by the highest jurists in New York, who found themselves powerless to convict him for sufficient but technical reasons irrelevant here. Washington now demanded that Lippincott should be handed over to him, and, being very rightly refused, caused lots to be drawn among the British officers on parole in Pennsylvania, which resulted in young Asgill, a lieutenant of nineteen in the Guards, being placed in arrest as a victim for retaliation. This unfortunate young man lay virtually under sentence

of death for six months. It was another case of André, with the same intercessions from powerful quarters more painfully protracted though more happily terminated. It was, however, a civil case for congress, not, as the other, a military affair for Washington. Carleton, of course, sent the earliest remonstrances both to Washington, who truly replied that he was powerless, and to congress, who would be satisfied with nothing but the blood of either Lippincott or Asgill. The latter was well connected. His mother wrote pathetic and beseeching letters to many quarters, which may be read in the State papers to-day. In despair she wrote to the French minister Vergennes at Paris, and not only enlisted his active sympathy but that of the king and queen of France, who were melted, it is said, to tears. But congress cared nothing for kings and queens. Vergennes now tried more practical arguments, and pointed out to congress that Asgill was in effect as much the prisoner of the King of France as he was theirs, seeing that His Majesty's arms had contributed so greatly to the victory of Yorktown where he was captured. This was unanswerable, or at least savoured of a demand, and congress with a bad grace, for Washington had long since wavered, gave way. The same dilatoriness, however, distinguished their completion of this small matter as had driven Washington again and again to despair in greater ones, and it was October before the youth who had borne himself bravely, "a credit to the British

army" as his colonel writes to Carleton, was actually released.

For a long time, even after Rodney's victory, Carleton and Digby felt much anxiety on the seaward side from some combination of uninjured or refitted French squadrons. Inland a curious, unofficial and even precarious armed neutrality held the two opposing armies. Carleton had been instructed among other things to make known to congress and the American people generally the pacific sentiments of the British government and House of Commons, to acquaint them with everything which could tend towards reviving old affections and extinguishing late jealousies, and to inform them that "the most liberal sentiments had taken root in the nation, and that the narrow policy of monopoly was totally extinguished, that a bill would pass the House after the holidays, the consequence of which would be a fresh commission to treat upon the most liberal terms of mutual advantage, and to propose an immediate cessation of hostilities." This must have been a slightly humiliating task even to a broad-minded man like Carleton, who had always deplored this war though he had done such yeoman service in it. His private opinions he might well have expressed, but to be the mouthpiece of a sovereign and government who had suddenly executed such a *volte-face* was another matter. However, he went through it with a good grace, and wrote admirable letters in the strain suggested, both to Washington and to

congress, who replied without enthusiasm but with suitable courtesy. It is interesting to note that Carleton's presence created some alarm among American extremists who feared that the memory of his lenient treatment of their released prisoners and his conciliatory tact might prove to their disadvantage in making terms. But though the sword was virtually sheathed by tacit consent, even Carleton could do nothing to diminish the gulf that had now yawned so wide between the two parties. Polite letters by the score, in connection with ordinary business matters, passed between the British commander on the one hand, and Washington, Livingstone, as president of congress, and Lincoln, as custodian of the British prisoners, on the other. But the noble sentiments and general expressions of goodwill expressed by one and all were almost invariably qualified by some reference to regrettable incidents by subordinates calling for prompt indemnification.

There were now two large bodies of British prisoners in America, besides several smaller bands captured on less notable occasions. The former consisted of the "convention prisoners" surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga, and those more recently taken with Cornwallis at Yorktown. Exchanges had slightly diminished the rolls of all, but there were still six or seven thousand prisoners chiefly in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. These, in connection with their exchanges, treatment and complaints, occasioned a vast deal of correspondence to

Carleton, who made frequent protests on their behalf to congress and elsewhere. A steady stream of Loyalist refugees kept pouring into the British lines—sometimes widows and children of deceased Tories, sometimes men, the victims of an ever growing ferocity that was by no means always confined to the patriot side. The department of claims and succour was under the immediate management of Colonel Morris, a member of the council of New York and one of Braddock's aides-de-camp at the slaughter on the Monongahela seven years previously. This gentleman is also distinguished as the successful wooer of Mary Phillips, who had previously inflamed the heart but not reciprocated the feelings of Morris's fellow aide-de-camp, George Washington. Mary Phillips was a considerable heiress, sister-in-law of Beverley Robinson, of familiar name in Canada, and her property was the only woman's estate formally confiscated. Twenty regiments of Loyalists at different points were in Carleton's command. There were three battalions of de Lancy's brigade under Turnbull, three more of Jersey volunteers under Skinner, Pennsylvania Loyalists under Allen, and Marylanders under Chalmers, the Loyal Americans under Beverley Robinson, who also commanded a corps of guides and pioneers, while Fanning, of South Carolina, commanded the King's American Regiment, the Queen's Rangers raised and led by Simcoe and Tarleton's noted British legion. The last three were afterwards placed on the

British establishment. The pay rolls of all these corps may still be read in the State papers for Carleton's period, thanks to his indefatigable secretary, Maurice Morgan, who has contributed to the shelves of the Royal Institution nearly forty stout volumes filled with the MSS. correspondence and accounts for the years 1782 and 1783.

Halifax was regarded throughout this first summer as the likeliest point of attack in Carleton's command, but the thoughts of the king's government turned now to recapturing the lost West India Islands, as well as to annexing those that had not been theirs to lose, and they were eager to get troops to those points from the American garrisons. In August Carleton heard that complete independence was to be ceded by the coming treaty, and he promptly requested to be recalled. It is worth noting that while the king and his ministers had blustered and vowed they would die rather than concede anything till the Americans were overcome, Carleton, whose views had been far more conciliatory while a hope remained of retaining the colonies, had firmly drawn the line at independence. His ambition had been to win back the colonists by every concession short of actual separation, and now his hopes were dissipated. He had no wish to stay longer in America. He had counted on his position there as a possible means of yet saving the situation from this uttermost calamity, and the chance apparently was not in his eyes a desperate one.

Now, in the first blush of his disappointment, there seemed no more use for him. But it was not to be. Communications were tedious in those days. It was not easy to find a qualified successor, and it ended, as we all know, by Carleton being the last British commander to leave the American shore. He had been busy as usual with his own secret service, collecting by means of trusted agents the private opinions of prominent Americans throughout the colonies. A vast amount of interesting matter thus collected remains among his papers. To quote an example at haphazard—one member of congress wished to know whether, if relations were resumed on the principle of no taxation or customs regulations, the British government would put the American army on the British establishment!

Carleton through all this period had at least money and supplies. There was no question of half rations nor of deferred pay for his troops or his refugees. Washington's army on the other hand had no pay and was ill supplied, while Greene's troops who were watching Leslie in the south were, according to their general, nearly naked. In August the evacuation of Savannah was accomplished, in July that of Charleston was achieved without mishap, though there had been great irritation and some outpost fighting between the troops of Leslie and Greene. War in the Carolinas, where the Loyalist party was especially strong, had been proportionately ferocious. Leslie, however, got his people away

to the number of fifteen thousand, of whom about half were refugees. They filled sixty ships,—joyful soldiers sick of unsuccessful partisan warfare, and bound for other scenes and honourable service; despondent refugees ruined mostly and bound, some for England, others for a fresh start in life in the West Indies; negroes careless and excited, no doubt, some free, some accompanying their masters, some taken by self-constituted masters to be sold by auction in the West Indies and to raise future troubles between Carleton and congress.

In the autumn Carleton was ordered to Barbadoes and active West Indian enterprises, and then immediately counter-ordered. He had an enormous amount of miscellaneous as well as routine work on his hands, as his surviving papers show. Leslie's Hessians, eleven hundred strong, and seven hundred Loyalist soldiers, the remnant of seven regiments, now joined his garrison from Charleston. Occasional incidents due to the mutual hatred of provincial Whigs and Tories in or about the lines, once or twice threatened to bring Washington down upon him, while the chance of a French attack by sea seems never to have been quite absent, for Digby was weak in ships. But Carleton was at least not worried by the home government. "All we can do," wrote Townshend, "is to indicate objects and choose a fit man like yourself to carry them out." When the news of the proposed concession of complete independence reached New York

the Loyalists were seized with despair and consternation. Petitions streamed in on Carleton. "If we have to encounter," ran one of them, "this inexpressible misfortune, we beg consideration for our lives, fortunes and property, and not by mere terms of treaty." These men knew the relentless spirit of their foes better than the British government. So by this time did Carleton, who replied that it was impossible not to sympathize with their fears, and that he would lay their urgent addresses with all speed before the king.

As the prospect of peace grew stronger and nearer there was much correspondence between Carleton and Washington, the former, with characteristic warmth, urging consideration towards the Loyalist, the latter replying in civil but entirely non-committal fashion. An intercepted letter from Adams expressed the sentiment that all Tories ought to be hanged. Another from Washington suggested that suicide was their only course. Such ebullitions of feeling give some idea of the situation. To the home government Carleton writes that some, no doubt, will try to make terms with the Americans, but others seem ready to submit to any extremity rather than to their foes. He is trying, he continues, to turn their thoughts towards other colonies, for this was already regarded as the inevitable solution of the problem, and Carleton had been for some time in active correspondence with Governor Parr and others in Nova Scotia regarding lands and

places for settlement. Haldimand wrote to Carleton that he was exchanging his prisoners with Vermont on easy terms, in view of the wavering sympathies of that martial and heady little province. The *amour propre* of this staunch and trustworthy old gentleman had taken alarm at some report that Carleton was coming to Canada, which meant the writer's temporary subordination, in which case he would certainly go home at once. Carleton soothed his fears by replying that he had not quitted that government with any thoughts of ever returning to it; an eminently unprophetic utterance!

In the meantime congress, ever bellicose and by this time somewhat decadent, had received the proposed terms of peace with a bad grace. They wanted to know the exact nature and extent of the independence proposed, and passed a resolution to the several states not to remit their exertions for carrying on the war with vigour. They could not be persuaded, however, to pay up the arrears due to the officers and men who had conducted it to the present successful stage. Still they went so far as to order Washington to appoint a commission for the exchange of prisoners. Carleton was at a loss to know whether all this meant that he was to be attacked; but in any case he appointed General Campbell and Mr. Elliott to meet Washington's commissioners and proposed to that general a definite agreement for the suspension of hostilities. Washington replied that Indian raids—alluding to

the ever lively Johnsons on the Mohawk—and marine attacks that in a small way on remoter shores were not infrequent, must in that case be also stopped, which was only reasonable. Generals Heath and Knox were nominated as Washington's commissioners in the matter of cartels, and the four met at Tappan, between the lines. The meeting ended in speedy and farcical fashion, for the Americans opened the ceremony by presenting a big bill for the keep of the British and German prisoners. Campbell and Elliott were amazed. The negotiators were evidently at cross-purposes so all four returned to their respective quarters, the British rather sore at having, as they thought, been brought on a fool's errand, the Americans on the plea that the others were invested with no power to treat.

Carleton had now with him nearly eight thousand Germans, five thousand British regulars, and some seventeen hundred provincials. Nine thousand of the regulars were quartered at McGowan's Pass and about a thousand at Kingsbridge, Paulus Hook, Staten Island and Long Island respectively. The provincials were stationed within the city for obvious prudential reasons. The British regiments were the 7th, 22nd, 37th, 38th, 42nd, 48th, 54th, 57th and some artillery. The German prisoners captured with Burgoyne and stationed mostly in Pennsylvania were also a constant source of trouble to Carleton, though not through any fault of their own, poor fellows. But with the Americans food

was unquestionably scarce, and the prisoners suffered in consequence. The Germans could not be exchanged and some of the understrappers in the congress service had notions far removed from equity or military custom. Some of them certainly displayed a talent for mean and petty oppression and exaction that surely surpassed the low average of the Jacks-in-office of that day in most countries. The poor Germans, often doubtless for lack of other quarters, were confined sometimes in wretched gaols, sometimes in other squalid buildings, and their complaints were met even by superior officers with the retort that the British government was responsible because it would not pay for their keep! All such expenses may well be lumped in a general money compensation to the victor in a long war at a treaty of peace, but I know of no other case where an army still in the field was expected to liquidate the board bill of their comrades in captivity by quarterly remittances. At this distance of time, when all concerned have long been dust, and the Americans have earned a reputation for unexampled hospitality, we may be permitted to enjoy a little the humour of the situation.

The Germans were told, however, that they might liquidate their maintenance account and at the same time secure their liberty by a payment of eighty dollars. As few of them had eighty pence the proposition offered small consolation. It proved, however, only a forerunner to a more practical suggestion;

for plenty of farmers it seems were willing to pay the bonus in return for a three years' indenture of the liberated soldier and his services. An alternative proposition was also pressed upon them with all the eloquence of a rival scheme, the recruiting sergeants being empowered to offer them their liberty and a bounty besides on enlistment in the service of congress. From our modern point of view it seems quite curious how few of these poor men took advantage of either, and with what indignation the great majority repudiated both offers. These German mercenaries are often written of to-day and were then, among the Americans, usually regarded as oppressed peasants, torn unwillingly from their homes by petty princes who fattened on the proceeds of their nefarious bargain with the British government. Much of this arises and arose from ignorance of the military conditions and customs of Europe in that day—an irrelevant subject here. But one gets from the attitude assumed and the answers given by these much pitied mercenaries, a curious glimpse of how strong among them was the pride of military caste. Some of the meetings between groups of these people and the American officials were vividly described by one or other of their number and forwarded by way of protest to Carleton, and may still be read among his papers. They scorned the notion of doing menial work as an indentured servant or "slave" to an American farmer. The recruiting sergeants quite approved of this and

applauded the repugnance shown by men who followed "the glorious trade of war" to becoming "the slaves of farmers"—for this is how these unblushing republicans actually put it. But when the latter came forward with their bounty, less no doubt their own commission, and an offer to pursue the paths of glory in the continental line, these simple people found their duty to their own prince and oath of allegiance to King George an insuperable obstacle. "Though we are treated not like prisoners of war but like wretches fallen into the hands of barbarians," writes one of them, after they had been addressed on the subject of the above proposal, "we replied that every word was thunder in our ears and were struck dumb with such barbarous proposals." Such warmth of language to the modern Anglo-Saxon would appear quite overstrained, while to prisoners in durance vile the offers might seem tempting enough, and the transfer of allegiance at that moment may well have seemed a mere trifle to an American. But neither they at that time nor we at this can put ourselves in the place of a Hessian corporal of the eighteenth century with feudal superstitions, homesickness, and domestic affections tugging at his heart strings. The great number of private men, corporals, and sergeants counting fifteen and twenty years service strikes one as remarkable in these regiments. Their behaviour upon the whole throughout the war, whether in quarters or in the field, had been admirable.

Early in the winter Carleton received permission to return home, so soon as Lieutenant-General Grey, appointed in his place, could relieve him. But peace now seemed so certain that Grey was withheld and Townshend wrote to Carleton, "Let me earnestly entreat you to remain at this important moment for the evacuation of New York and distribution of His Majesty's troops. So much less brilliant but none the less difficult and important; a great and complicated business, removal and distribution of troops, security and disposal of public property, liquidation and adjustment of accounts, the care, support and assistance of Loyalists, all claim your attention. The justice of your claims to return home are obvious. If His Majesty could find any man on either side of the Atlantic as much trusted he would not press this so urgently."

There is no space here for any catalogue of Carleton's manifold duties through this busy and anxious winter of 1782-3. Arrangements were being pushed forward in Nova Scotia, which then included New Brunswick, for the reception of Loyalist emigrants, and Carleton among other things protested with success against the saddling of uncleared forest lands with quit rents. At another time we find him restoring the bells of Charleston which some fervent refugees had included among their baggage, at another endeavouring to recover six thousand pounds worth of clothing which American underlings had appropriated on its way to the prisoners in Pennsylvania.

And amid these and innumerable other minor matters, outside the care of a large garrison, the bitter cry of refugee arrivals was always in his ears.

At the end of March, 1783, arrived the news that the preliminary articles of peace were signed. The opposing generals complimented one another, and Washington issued orders for an absolute cessation of any hostile acts. But the French government were ill pleased. The capture of American trade had been with them a leading object, and as one means towards it they hoped to secure terms so favourable for the Loyalists that they would remain in the country, assist in its progress, and look to the French as benefactors. Dr. Franklin and Oswald had upset all this and, what was more, the Loyalists now learned to their dismay that any hopes they still cherished of getting some reasonable guarantees in the treaty were dashed to the ground. Congress had no power, so it declared, to take any action in this matter. All it could do was to undertake that a recommendation should be made to the different states to show consideration for their late enemies. The British ministers, who, to do them justice, had struggled in vain for something better than this, hoped that even so much might have some mitigating effect. The wholesale confiscation of property at the close of a civil war fought out for a principle between neighbours of the same race, blood, and faith, was unknown among civilized people in modern times, certainly among Britons.

But the Loyalists knew the temper of their people better and prepared forthwith to depart. On April 17th five thousand five hundred and ninety-three refugees were embarked for Nova Scotia as a first instalment. "Many of these," writes Carleton to Governor Parr, "are of the first families and born to the fairest possessions, and I beg therefore that you will have them properly considered."

On May 6th Carleton met Washington and Clinton, the governor of New York, at Tappan and discussed the exchange and liberation of prisoners. Carleton's vessels were in such demand that it was necessary to march the prisoners overland to New York, and the management of this business was entrusted to Colonel Alured Clarke, whom we shall meet again later in Canada. About six thousand altogether had to be thus brought by road, some from as far south as Charlottesville in Virginia. Those who have read Captain Anbury's journals may well fancy that they shook the red dust of that now delectable and always most beautiful Virginia district off their ill-shod feet with heartfelt relief. A week later proclamations were sent out by both governments dissolving the officers' paroles. By the terms of the treaty the British were to evacuate New York, the only spot in the country except the far western posts that they now held, with as much despatch as possible. Nothing was actually said about the Loyalists going with them; but Carleton to his honour determined to interpret the clause this way,

and, as time went on and the bitter feeling towards them more fully revealed itself, his resolution in regard to this became immovably fixed and proof against the constant complaints of congress at the delay. His transport facilities were quite unequal to the great demands made on them. From the time that peace was proclaimed fresh refugees, who had made brief experiments at home of what peace meant, came thronging in. As fast as any new supply of transports gave promise of meeting the demand these refugees increased and occasioned further delay. The whole proceeding took over six months, and from July onwards Carleton was constantly importuned by congress to fix some precise limit to his occupation. He replied shortly, but always courteously, that he was quite as anxious as they were to finish the business, that it was purely a matter of transport, that in the collection of this his utmost endeavours were engaged and that no man could do more. To their objections that the Loyalists were not included in the agreement Carleton replied that he held opposite views. In any case he regarded it as a point of honour that no troops should embark until the last Loyalist who claimed his protection should be safely on board a British ship. He requested congress to appoint agents that they might see for themselves how zealous he and his officials were in their endeavours. By September, when there were still numbers to be moved, Carleton got rather short in his replies to these importunities,

and at last on being requested to name an outside date he honestly declared that he could not even guess when the last ship would be loaded; but he was privately resolved to remain until it was. He informed them, moreover, that the more the uncontrolled violence of their citizens drove refugees to his protection, by so much the longer would his evacuation be delayed.

The American government were greatly concerned lest property belonging to their friends should be included in the Loyalists' baggage. By far the most difficult property to classify were the negroes, mostly refugees like the others. Who of these were bond and who were free, and if the former to whom did they belong and what course was the correct one to pursue, was a problem such as no fair-minded British commander, except Leslie at Charleston, has probably ever been confronted with. The Ethiopian's affidavit, then as now, was hardly reliable. For that matter few white men would be willing to swear away their liberty. Then again the question whether a negro escaping from a rebel master to a government at the time locally supreme and who had thus obtained his freedom should be returned as a chattel, which according to strict law and the treaty he should have been, was really a complicated question. It must be remembered that the British flag did not legally mean freedom in 1783 as Canada did half a century later. Carleton was utterly loath to send these people back

to masters who would not unnaturally receive them with more or less harshness of treatment. He requested, therefore, that commissioners should be appointed to take full particulars of every negro that was shipped, and wherever there was any case for compensation it should be registered for after consideration. This plan was adopted, and elaborate registers were made of all the identified negroes, describing their appearance, sex, age and owner. These may be read to-day among Carleton's papers, where they are described in hundreds as "likely fellows," "stout wenches," "likely lads," "incurably lazy," "stout fellows," and "wornouts." To any one familiar with southern life immediately after the late Civil War, as is the case with the present writer, these phrases have a curiously suggestive ring, though the Pompeys, Cæsars, Jupiters, Princes, and Dianas that figure in Carleton's lists had then almost wholly given way to less classical appellations.

Elaborate lists still remain to us of the officers of the Loyalist corps put upon half pay, and among the letters to Carleton from various provincial officers one is surprised to find that the custom of purchase apparently flourished even in these locally raised regiments, three hundred pounds being mentioned as having been paid for a company, and two hundred and forty pounds for the quartermaster's berth in a New Jersey volunteer corps. The most pathetic portion perhaps of Carleton's papers consists of letters from widows of Loyalists whose husbands had fallen,

explaining their wretched circumstances in detail, and petitioning for pensions which seem to have been always allotted to them. Six Loyalist corps numbering about one thousand five hundred men were disbanded and settled in Nova Scotia, and several Hessian officers with small fortunes applied to Carleton for similar privileges, which were, of course, granted on the same scale of acreage as that allotted to British officers. But I must not drift into the affairs of the Loyalist refugees so voluminously set forth in the Carleton correspondence, and of such abiding interest to most Canadians. It will be enough to say that the bulk of these shipments went to the Maritime Provinces, including Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, whose proprietors had made considerable, though to them profitable enough, concessions. A few went to both Upper and Lower Canada to swell the numbers that then and afterwards resorted thither overland, and these last included many Americans other than Loyalists frightened out of the neighbouring states by the bogey of taxation which was now provoking disturbances all over the country. The number of Loyalists whom Carleton actually embarked it is difficult to estimate with any accuracy. The number expected was twenty-seven thousand, but this was probably in excess of that which actually sailed. It was the end of November before the last British drum beat its farewell on the battery, and the last British red-coat filed into the boats. On November

29th Carleton wrote his last despatch on board the *Ceres* anchored in the harbour. It supported a final petition of Loyalist widows for pensions, and included the fact that "His Majesty's troops and such remaining Loyalists as chose to emigrate were successfully withdrawn on the 25th inst., from the city of New York in good order, and embarked without the smallest circumstance of irregularity or misbehaviour of any kind." Thus dropped the curtain on Carleton's second period of laborious and distinguished service to his country, as it also dropped on one of the most fateful and pregnant struggles in the world's history.

CHAPTER XI

DORCHESTER'S RETURN

AFTER two years spent in England, which, so far as we know, were uneventful ones to Carleton save that he was created Baron Dorchester, he was offered and accepted the chief-governorship of Canada at the beginning of 1786. With the sudden influx of Loyalist refugees variously estimated at from thirty to fifty thousand, a third of whom perhaps would be in Canada proper, the equilibrium, social, political and religious of that country, bade fair to be considerably upset. New cleavages, new issues and new difficulties were imminent within the province. Without it France was in a highly electrical condition, while one of the two great parties into which the United States was now divided was actively hostile to Great Britain, and sore at the failure to include Canada in their new republic. Indeed the immediate future of Canada promised to tax the capacities of the ablest ruler, and the British government at this crisis seems to have turned naturally to Carleton. Domestic legislation of a thorny kind and danger from without was the almost certain lot of the next occupant of the Château St. Louis, and it would seem that some pressure was put on Carleton in the matter and that he went out rather from a sense of patriotism and duty than personal inclination.

However unemotional his temperament, the feelings of Dorchester, as we must now call him, may well have been stirred as he again beheld the spires and rooftrees and batteries of Quebec ascending from the water line to their high protecting fortress, and as he climbed once more the steep familiar streets, every turn of which he had such good cause to know. When eight years previously Haldimand had arrived to take his place, the two had met in brief interchange of courtesies. This time Dorchester had renewed Haldimand's acquaintance in London before sailing, and was received at Quebec by Hope, the lieutenant-governor, who had acquitted himself with sufficient credit in the interval. His government had been marked by comparative domestic peace, pending the advent of so renowned an arbiter of Canadian friction. "We must preserve Quebec even if we have to send Carleton himself," Shelburne had written with scant courtesy and, one might add, scant gratitude, to Haldimand, whose biographer in this series has freed the memory of that excellent official from a good deal of ill-judged and unmerited censure.

Events of incalculable significance to North America, and to the world for all time, had happened since Carleton left Quebec in 1778. A new nation had arisen to the southward and had thrown off inadvertently the germ of another. A new and invigorated Canada had been born, which through the crucial fever of racial discord was to emerge at last into a power of such proportions as few of its most

ardent friends had ever dreamed of; but Dorchester was among those few.

He had now to face the incipient difficulties of this upheaval as it affected Canada. The shaggy wilderness along the Upper St. Lawrence and the north shore of Lake Ontario, that had been in his former reign but a forbidding barrier cutting him off from the western posts, was now gradually opening to the light before the axes of the first United Empire Loyalists. Dorchester's trouble with the earlier handful of British Americans in their inequitable claims to a monopoly of power must have recurred to him as he looked over the correspondence relating to thousands of these men, whereas before there had been only hundreds. But the latter, by no stretch of imagination, could have been regarded as picked men. These others Dorchester, from his New York experience no doubt, knew well were persons for the most part of another calibre, and yet this very fact may have seemed to make the future problem of Canadian government the more difficult.

That Dorchester had to report his reception as a warm one goes without saying. His reputation had probably increased in his absence, not only by that automatic process by which time enhances the virtues of the virtuous and the vices of the vicious, but by comparison with other rulers who even if misjudged and underrated were at any rate not Carletons. He had, moreover, a host of old friends

in the country, or perhaps having regard to the popular governor's temperament, admiring acquaintances would be the better word. The "friends of congress," or those advocating the most exclusive Anglo-Protestant pretensions were doubtless not so enthusiastic in their greeting.

Dorchester had come out with wider powers than any previous governor. He was not only the ruler of Canada, but had chief authority, when called upon to exercise it, over Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The latter, hitherto under an administrator directly responsible to the Crown, was now, though vastly increased in population through United Empire Loyalist immigrants, under a lieutenant-governor. New Brunswick, just created a province, was for the same cause similarly administered. The Loyalists in the district of Montreal and those already at Kingston on the shores of Lake Ontario numbered from five to ten thousand and were steadily increasing. There was not now to be another Livius, for this time Dorchester had brought out his own chief-justice, William Smith, son of a New York judge and himself once chief-justice of that important province. Taking the loyal side he had retired to England with Carleton who held him in high regard. Both of them had been much in conference while in London with Lord Sydney, now a secretary of state, as to the future conduct of Canada, and Dorchester's after correspondence with that nobleman bears small

resemblance in tone to the perfunctory and peppery despatches between Germain and himself.

Dorchester was at once confronted with the old difficulty of the French and English laws in Canada, which the Quebec Act had theoretically settled by giving the criminal courts to the one and the civil courts to the other. Some, however, of the ordinances of the Quebec Act were not final, and had to be renewed every two years, which in such cases gave rise to much discussion. But though the English criminal law commended itself to all, English litigants in matters not affecting land constantly rejected the French code. This, being a mixture of the old French and Roman law, with much that custom alone had improvised and sanctioned, presented a Herculean labour for the English advocate to grapple with. French justices it was complained still followed French, and English justices English law, precisely as they chose, to the confusion of all litigation. Smith showed his predilection at once for a loose interpretation of the Quebec Act, and a leaning towards the royal proclamation of 1763, and gave official utterance to it in reversing a judgment of the Common Pleas that came to him early in his first term. Indeed the confusion had become so great that one of Dorchester's first acts on calling the legislative council together was to appoint a committee to inquire into the matter and report upon it.[1]

[1] See appendix U.

Committees were also nominated to report on the commerce, the police and the education of the province. Commerce was almost wholly represented by Montreal and Quebec, both now about the same size, and each containing about eight thousand souls. Their merchants, being mostly British, drew up a report on the confusion of the existing laws, which Dorchester's committee in turn strongly recommended to his "most serious consideration and reflection." Trial by jury in civil cases had, since Dorchester's former rule, been introduced with the limitation that it was optional with the litigants. Smith now brought a new bill into the council continuing the ordinance in all civil affairs, and establishing trial by jury between "merchant and merchant, and trader and trader," as well as in the matter of "personal wrongs" proper to be compensated in damages, "with certain other clauses intended to cure some of the disorders now prevalent in the courts." This, however, was rejected by the committee. The opposing party now brought in a fresh bill, but in the words of one of the others it merely retained the name of jury lest the advantages derived from that "glorious institution" should be wholly lost. The merchants prayed to be heard by council against the bill, and were so heard through the mouth of Attorney-General Monk for six hours. In his peroration Monk exposed such a confused state of justice that he "astonished the whole audience." These disclosures moved Dorchester to ap-

point a committee under Chief-Justice Smith to investigate into the past administration of the laws as well as into the conduct of judges in the courts both of Appeal and of Common Pleas. Every leading person was examined, and such a state of confusion was shown to exist, says a legal chronicler as no other British province ever before laboured under, "English judges following English, French judges French law, and what was worse some followed no particular laws of any kind whatsoever."[1]

The committee called to take evidence on the schools and education of the province, and to form an opinion as to founding a university, produced no definite result, like the others, in view of the great general changes involved in the division of the country by the Canada Act of 1791. But it produced a pretty controversy between Hubert, the Bishop of Quebec, and his coadjutor Bailly, who was a highly polished cleric, a *persona grata* at the Château St. Louis, and had gone back to England in 1778 as tutor in Carleton's family. Their respective replies in answer to questions make instructive reading. It need only be noted here that the bishop was in favour of an improved education in theory only. He enumerated the various seminaries, such as that at Quebec for the higher education mainly of priests, and the other at Montreal which was merely a large free school—besides its college. The bishop proceeded then to mention the various convents,

[1] See appendix V.

such as the Ursulines, and the nuns of the General Hospital who gave education free or otherwise to girls. It seems clear from his manner of reply that virtue and respect for religion were the main things imparted to the young ladies at these teaching centres, which he considered more than adequate. He certainly gives the impression that he thought nothing else much mattered. But this was not what the committee were sitting for. Neither any lack of virtue or religion had caused concern to the governor and his council, but rather the want of educational opportunities for all classes. When the bishop was asked if it were true that only three or four persons in each parish could read and write, his Lordship repelled the insinuation as "a wicked calumny started by bad men" which had even reached his own sacred ears. Thirty, he declared, was more like the average number, but anticipating perhaps some measure of scepticism on the part of the committee, about half of whom were French, he qualified the estimate by admitting the larger portion of these select ones to be women. "The country curés," he protested, "do their utmost to spread education in their parishes." With regard to a university presided over by men of unbiased and unprejudiced views he opined that that sort of men had generally no views of any kind on sacred matters. As to the demand for a university, he thought that the farmers with so much land to clear would prefer, until that was accomplished, to keep their sons at home to help

to clear it, rather than spend hard-earned money in sending them to gain education at Quebec.

M. Bailly, the coadjutor, who for various reasons was on the worst of terms with his ecclesiastical chief, but who was an abler and broader-minded person, then proceeded to demolish the bishop's statements in relentless fashion, under the specious pretext that some malevolent person had foisted the paper on the committee as the bishop's with design to injure him. He sarcastically depicted the bishop as arguing that till Canada was cleared up to the polar regions the education of its inhabitants must be left in abeyance. His further enthusiasm for non-sectarian education is eloquently expressed and covers several pages. It was pointed out by him and others that the new provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would contribute students to such a university increasingly as time went on.

The finding of the committee was under six heads, which in general terms may be described as in favour of free common schools in every parish and a secondary school, to use a modern phrase, in every town and district, and lastly of a non-sectarian college from which religion was to be rigorously excluded. As regards the last proposition, this committee of 1787, judged by the light of the intervening period, may be regarded as a singularly sanguine body.

As a Canadian historian has well said, these gen-

eral inquiries on commerce, law and education, if they served no other purposes, succeeded in illustrating in a high degree the passions and prejudices that distinguished the province at that day. The income of the Jesuit estates was regarded by most people as a natural source of revenue for any fresh educational enterprises. Four aged members of the fraternity alone survived, and at their death the property passed away from the order. The balance of the income, after their frugal wants had been supplied, had been hitherto devoted to the maintenance of the seminary. But another claimant had to be considered, for the estates had been either granted or promised to Amherst about the time of the conquest, and he now urged his rights. Perhaps these had not been formally established or defined; in any case the Canadians, as was natural, in view of the scarcity of money and lack of educational facilities strenuously objected and presented a petition to the Crown which Dorchester forwarded early in 1788. The weakness of Amherst's claim, if otherwise valid, lay in the fact that the Jesuits held the estates in the light rather of trustees than of owners, and that the property was originally given for the education of Indians and Canadians. The matter was not finally settled until 1888.

Other interests, however, were moving. In his first year Dorchester was approached by the Vermonters in the person of Silas Deane, who had been mooting the subject in London, in regard to an outlet for

their trade by the St. Lawrence. Vermont, not admitted as a state till 1791, as readers of Haldimand's life will know, had been prompted by various reasons during the war to coquet with British rule through the medium of Quebec. Now, however, it was a commercial matter and all above board. Free trade with Canada had been suggested long before and the Green Mountain men were now anxious to combine with the British province in circumventing the rapids of the Richelieu between St. Johns and Chambly—for this was then their natural trade outlet—by a canal. Dorchester, who had already discussed the matter in London, was favourable to the scheme. It seemed feasible and would have promoted friendly relations, a motive always powerful with Dorchester. But this also fell through, and was not achieved for fifty years.

What gave the governor most concern, however, was the critical state of the Indian question in the far West. The moment he landed this was pressed upon him by letters from Sir John Johnson who was in charge of the western districts. These posts, stretching southwards from Detroit to the Ohio and northwards up the shores of Lake Huron to Michilimackinac, had been retained by Great Britain as security for certain concessions on the part of the United States to the Loyalists. The Indians had been ignored altogether in the treaty of peace through timidity, or oversight, or a feeling of helplessness, and those whose hitherto recognized

territories were being invaded right and left by adventurers over whom an inevitably weak congress had no control, were loud in their protests. The forts were feebly garrisoned, the Indians were losing faith in British compacts and friendship, while something approaching war on a considerable scale and of a quite lawless kind was setting the West on fire. The Alleghany frontiersmen, who mainly composed the vanguard of these new Ohio settlers and would-be settlers, were a fine and virile race with a prevalent strain of Ulster or Scotch-Irish Presbyterian blood. The defenders of the Sault-au-Matelot at Quebec in 1775 had felt their courage, and the sentries on the walls had suffered much from their deadly aim. But they had their failings, chief among which perhaps was an impatience of outside control and a contempt for distant governments, natural enough to men who had not merely to carve out, but to fight for their own homes. Historians and contemporary despatch writers speak of them as Virginians and Pennsylvanians, but such a definition is purely technical and due to the fact that they lay at the back of and within the parrallels of these and other states. They bore indeed slight resemblance to the normal Virginian or Pennsylvanian, had little intercourse with them, and flouted both them and their governments whenever it suited. For the weak authority of the much harassed congress they had no regard whatever, unless it was backed by sufficient troops. Some acquaintance with

their descendants still living rude lives in the wilder portions of their ancient haunts helps one to realize how hopeless it would have been, except by force, to impress upon such people the equity of distant treaty rights and above all the rights of Indians, whom they held as vermin, though they respected them as warriors. To hold back men of the type of Boone or Brady, of Clarke or Logan, of Shelby or Sevier, from the edge of a boundless wilderness by parchment documents, was a practical impossibility even if such treaty rights had been clearly defined. Behind these born frontiersmen followed clouds of only less hardy and reckless settlers from the eastern provinces, and soldiers lately disbanded from Washington's forces. The Indians' territory was invaded at all points on the upper Ohio and to the south of the lakes, and sanguinary skirmishes were of constant occurrence. St. Clair, who had commanded and evacuated Ticonderoga before Burgoyne's advance was sent as governor to the new territory, and did his best for peace, but the Indians told him that they could no more restrain their young men than the Americans could hold their own wilder spirits. The British agents in the meantime could give no assistance, while the small British garrisons on the edge of the struggle were weak to futility.

The Indians were clamouring to know whether the British posts were to be given up to "the Yankees,"[1] and threatened to visit Dorchester at Quebec,

[1] See appendix W.

and get to the root of the matter. Indeed these unfortunate people may well have fallen into a state of bewilderment as to who was now their "Father," a third claimant having appeared as candidate for this disinterested relationship. In the meantime they continued to interchange scalps with the western frontiersmen who burnt their villages and council halls, till the American regular troops were called into the field to the number of two thousand three hundred and received one severe defeat at the hands of as many Indians. But this was not till 1791.

It was no desire of wounding British susceptibilities or infringing British rights that prompted this forward movement on the American frontier so far as the government was concerned. On the contrary, there was a general appreciation of the advantages of English over-sea trade after its long cessation, and the trans-Alleghany people saw that their only outlet was by the Mississippi through Spanish territory. There was, therefore, a strong feeling that this magnificent waterway must be opened to them willingly or unwillingly. The backwoodsman's views on foreign politics were crude and are sometimes only less so now. The feelings of Spain would not have been much considered had the power been theirs, as the darker schemes of Aaron Burr and Wilkinson and their unfortunate dupe Blennerhasset a few years later give ample evidence.

It was natural for every reason that Dorchester should wish to visit his sub-governments of Nova

Scotia and New Brunswick as soon as possible, having in view the interesting situation and rapid development brought about by the Loyalist refugees. Almost immediately on landing he informed Parr, the lieutenant-governor of the former province, that he hoped shortly to be with him, and to include the islands of St. John and Cape Breton in his tour. The former, at that time scarcely giving promise of the importance it has since attained as Prince Edward Island, was under a lieutenant-governor named Patterson, who on being superseded by the home authorities in the autumn of Dorchester's arrival, refused to give up his post to his successor, Fanning, whom they had sent out. He writes his reasons to Dorchester, which were in effect that the island had been his hobby. He had given it its laws, its roads, its inhabitants, its separate legislature. He had made his home there and his interests were such that they could not be managed by another. He could not go to England to answer charges of which he knew nothing, as when he was in Europe he obviously could not collect evidence in the island. At present he was condemned unheard and for what he did not know, so he proposed to remain until further light was shed upon the matter. His people were apparently with him, so Mr. Fanning's immediate prospects of administering the fertile little island were poor, though that well known Carolina Loyalist and the majesty of the law prevailed in the end. This incident is a fair illustration of the enor-

mous difficulties which the size of the country presented to its administrators of that day.

Nova Scotia, before its division and the Loyalist influx, had contained about fifteen thousand inhabitants. In a couple of years over thirty thousand had been added to them. A monthly mail packet was established from Halifax to England, and Dorchester set to work to organize a land express from Quebec to the winter ports. It sounds strange now that the most effective method of transit was found to be on foot! Speaking generally there were two distinct waves of Loyalist immigration. The influx of 1783 has already been alluded to. It was the immediate result of the close of the war and included disbanded Loyalist regiments as well as people of all sorts and conditions for whom a residence in the new republic was either impossible, unsafe or unpalatable. Later arrivals consisted of those who might have gone in '83 but were deterred not merely by the reported rigours of the climate and infertility of the soil, which was a common impression to the south, but by their fears of the Quebec Act and of strange laws, and the absence of representative government. All the Loyalist and militia corps were of course in the first batch, over six hundred for instance having been settled by Butler and de Peyster at Niagara, and about five hundred on the Crown seigniories of Sorel, and others near Montreal, Chambly and St. Johns. Nearly four hundred, of whom a considerable part were Loyalist soldiers and Rangers, were provided for

in the district of which the modern Kingston is the centre. It was quite obvious that ex-American colonists would not be satisfied to hold land under seigniorial usage, and it was necessary to go outside the line of the seigniories. There was little difficulty in finding land in the Richelieu country and to the west of Montreal, and of course, none whatever in the virgin wilderness up the St. Lawrence towards Lake Ontario or on the Canadian shore at Niagara, nor for the few score families who settled as far down the St. Lawrence as Gaspé and the Bay of Chaleurs. That this large necleus of settlement soon manifested an impatience of those French laws which still perplexed was not unnatural. Settlers also kept dropping in from the States, where there was much friction and discontent, and swelled the cry for constitutional changes and above all for that elective assembly which they had been accustomed to regard as the one thing essential to the happiness of all freeborn men.[1]

Dorchester recognized all this to the full, and warned the home government that fresh concessions in this direction were inevitable. But he confessed himself at a loss for a plan, so complex had the matter now become. "In a country," he writes, "where nine-tenths of the people do not yet understand even the nature of an assembly, any such scheme should be fully explained to them and they should be given ample time to digest it."

[1] See appendix X.

The organizing activity of the Kingston Loyalists was early astir. For while they were still petitioning Dorchester for another supply of provisions pending the gathering of harvest, they prayed that the English and Scottish Churches might be established among them, and that they should be assisted to erect a schoolhouse in each neighbourhood. They also petitioned for a supply of clothes, and it must be remembered that scarcely any of these people, gentle or simple, were able to bring much more with them than they could carry upon their backs. The story of their fight with poverty and the primæval forests, with the plague of insects, which then made life almost intolerable during the summer months, with sickness beyond reach of doctors or drugs, is both a pathetic and a noble one, above all when one remembers the physical comforts and social distinction which had been the former lot of so many of them. But all this has been told elsewhere many times. Dorchester did what he could. He sent them food and clothes and such medical assistance as the province, itself poorly provided in that respect, could spare. He eventually went to see them himself, though his visit was delayed for a season by the arrival of Prince William Henry.

He found them, however, the following year, progressing favourably. Settlers were shortly expected on the American shore of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, and the United Empire Loyalists were influenced by a not unworthy ambition to show them

that they were finding material as well as sentimental consolation beneath the British flag. The land tenures, however, were still giving much anxiety, for the owners of seigniories French and English, of which last there were now a few, objected to the government selling wild lands in free and common socage. It contrasted too favourably with the position of their own *censitaires* and would thereby tend to depreciate their own estates. But the division of the province was already in the air, and settlers from the south were flocking steadily into it, some attracted by the easy terms of land, and others the objects of ill usuage at home; for the soil of Upper Canada had proved fertile beyond expectation, and all could now see that the idea of a virtually homogeneous French Canada under British rule was shattered. The Quebec Act, which in any case was not regarded as final, would soon need amendment under the pressure of developments due to peculiar causes that no human eye could have foreseen at its enactment.

Still, even a division of the province would by no means dispose of the land difficulty. The British-American settlers on the Richelieu and Lake St. Francis already numbered some thousands and would absolutely reject the French method of tenure and inheritance, as they had already substituted the acre for the *arpent* and the square survey for the narrow strip wherever possible. The Eastern Townships of Quebec to-day still in part illustrate the

contrast between the two races in their ideas of survey and settlement. Nor again is it realized in Great Britain, and not fully perhaps even in Canada, what a large admixture of German blood went in with these United Empire Loyalists. One entire German Loyalist regiment settled in the Kingston district, and on the roster of another corps one finds a thick sprinkling both of Dutch and German patronymics.

As already mentioned, in the August of 1787 Dorchester's intended visit to the Maritime Provinces was postponed by the arrival of Prince William Henry, the future King William IV. in command of H. M. S. *Pegasus*. With Judge Prowse's[1] entertaining account in mind of the cheerful and popular manners of the sailor prince during his long stay in Newfoundland, one can well believe that he repaid the enthusiasm with which the Canadians greeted him in hearty fashion. De Gaspé tells us what despair he caused Lady Dorchester at her balls by choosing his partners where he listed rather than where ceremony required. On his way up from Quebec to Montreal, whither the governor preceded him, he stopped at Sorel where government had encouraged the beginnings of a town and shipyards. The leading inhabitants were so delighted with the friendly young man that they violated their past and exchanged the old name of the place for that of William Henry. But

[1] Prowse's, *History of Newfoundland*.

time had its revenge. Sorel, if but a mushroom townlet then, had graven its name deep in the story of two wars and after a few years only officials in public documents remembered its second baptism, till even they wearied of the farce.

A French marquis on his travels was soon afterwards sent to Dorchester with introductions from leading Englishmen, but the governor privately begged that these visits of foreigners should not be encouraged, for the political state of the country made them embarrassing. But a more useful arrival now put in an appearance, namely, an Anglican bishop for British North America; the first of a long line of distinguished prelates that have served that Church on both sides of the border. This was Charles Inglis, who was to take his title from Nova Scotia and reside there, but to have jurisdiction over Anglican Quebec. He had distinguished himself in New York both as an earnest churchman and evangelist, while later as a zealous Loyalist and rector of Christ Church he had aroused the enmity of the patriot party by his inconvenient eloquence. He left New York with Carleton at the evacuation and proceeded to Halifax, where his abilities gave him the first claim to the new see. In 1789 the bishop visited Quebec and ascended the river to Montreal, warmly welcomed everywhere by officials and Anglicans. The latter at Montreal had hitherto been indebted to the courtesy of the Récollets for the use of their church. Dorchester now granted and had restored

for them the derelict church of the suppressed order of Jesuits. In this same August the first Episcopal conference of the Protestant Church and the first confirmation was held in the Récollets' church at Quebec.

It is curious in Sydney's official letters to Dorchester to read of a notion prevalent in England that America was going to apply for a monarch of the House of Hanover! The minister also deprecates any idea of contracting a commercial treaty with Vermont and represents the London merchants trading with Quebec as greatly annoyed at the want of gaols in Canada for the confinement of debtors. In short the Coutume de Paris seemed to the British merchant a monstrous anachronism. The British minister, however, writes that he does not see why the Canadians should not have their own laws if they chose.

Dorchester in this same year (1788) sent back the 29th, 31st and 34th Regiments and received instead the 5th, 26th and the first battalion of the 60th, so he had now, in view of possible complications with the United States, some two thousand troops spread over one thousand one hundred miles of frontier, and an extremely unreliable militia. The late success of the Americans had undermined British prestige in the eyes of the Canadian masses. The Canadian militia, now grown more than ever averse to thoughts of war, would feel that the regulars supporting them were not infallible and were at any

rate under a cloud. During 1788, however, Dorchester did his utmost to give efficiency to this service, and instructed the lieutenant-governors to have the forces of their several provinces set in order, for even if peace were maintained with their neighbours, war with France might break out at any moment. He sent to England for thirty thousand stand-of-arms and other war material, which Sydney promised him by the following spring. The postal arrangements too were completed at the same time, and it is curious to find, even in these early days, Halifax and St. John worrying Dorchester with their rival claims as open ports for a quick passage. This was to be made twelve times a year by a sailing packet and the Quebec letters were to be delivered by a walking postman till roads could be cut! The dispute was settled by dividing these substantial favours alternately between the rivals, and Finlay of Quebec as postmaster-general had to see them carried out.

The expense of forwarding heavy packages may be gathered from the post-office charges of £28 16s. on the transport of a petition in a box from Montreal to Quebec addressed to Dorchester, which the latter refused to accept on the reasonable pretext that a continuance of so expensive a correspondence would be an intolerable burden on all concerned.

Adam Lymburner, a Quebec merchant, and described by Dorchester as "a quiet, decent man not unfriendly to the administration" had been already sent to England with a petition from the Quebec

merchants for a change in the constitution. But the Loyalist influx had introduced silent arguments for this departure far more potent than the somewhat poor ones hitherto advanced by the old British faction in Quebec.

In the summer of 1788 the notorious and energetic Ethan Allen, whose ardour had been in no wise cooled by his long confinement in a mediæval British fortress, again approached in diplomatic form the personage who had captured him and had been the means of his unwilling visit to Europe. His brother had been Dorchester's correspondent in the previous year and his letters had merely related to the free shipment of goods from Vermont to the St. Lawrence, and those commercial affairs which Silas Deane, it will be remembered, had in hand. Ethan Allen certainly bore no malice, for this curious document is little short of a proposal to return to the British fold. His hatred of the new federal government, together with the commercial advantages of the British alternative, was no doubt the inspiring motive of Allen and the party he represented. Vermont had not yet become a state and owing to many causes a considerable party within her borders had no longer any wish that she ever should. Her proximity to Canada, wrote Allen, made her an object of suspicion and jealousy to the new government, but if the latter tried to force itself upon them there were fifteen thousand able-bodied Vermonters more than equal to a similar number of

United States troops. Their objection to joining the new confederacy was that it would expose them to the displeasure of Great Britain, ruin their commerce and involve them in debt, if not insolvency. The differences of the confederacy owing to diversity of climate and their licentious notions of liberty imbibed in the course of the revolution operated against successful combination in government. Allen urges Dorchester not to undervalue Vermont on account of her geographical limitations. Immigration adds to her strength, as the people continually coming in want "property not liberty."

During the last three years of the war Allen pointed out that there had been practically an alliance of neutrality between Vermont and the British. "If the latter," he declared, "could have afforded them protection at that time, the Vermonters would readily have yielded up their independence and have become a province of Great Britain. Should the United States now attempt to coerce them they would doubtless do the same if British policy harmonized with the idea. The leading men of Vermont are not so sentimentally attached to a republican form of government, yet from political principles are determined to maintain their present mode of it till they can have a better, or until they can on principles of mutual interest and advantage return to the British government without war or annoyance from the United States." Allen was an able, if somewhat unscrupulous, man. Schooled by a gene-

ration or two of partisan warfare against the French-Canadians the Vermonters were the best irregular soldiers in the United States, with the exception perhaps of the Alleghany mountaineers.

While Lymburner was on his way to appeal to the British government and the House of Commons on the question of obtaining an elective assembly and diminishing the scope of French laws, a petition concluding with sixteen pages of French-Canadian signatures was presented to Dorchester protesting against the aforesaid appellant as professing to represent the new Canadian subjects as well as the old. The former, they declared, greatly demurred to any further change in their ancient laws, while as for a House of Assembly they rather objected to one than otherwise.

Dorchester's plan for overcoming the inefficient state into which the militia had subsided was to call out three battalions for two years service, replacing them at the end of the term by others, but retaining the officers in permanent commission to take over each fresh corps as it came up. Le Comte Dupré was at this time colonel of all the militia of the town and district of Quebec and we find him corresponding direct with Sydney, describing his efforts to put his men on a good footing and asking for flags, uniforms, etc., and also a salary for himself as an encouragement to other Canadian officers.

Through the whole of 1788 and 1789 Dorchester shows his keen interest in the curious drift of Am-

erican politics beyond the Alleghanies, in Kentucky, and towards the Mississippi. The links of the confederacy were just now dangerously loose, as the Vermont incident alone would illustrate, but greater issues seemed at stake in the south-west. The latest plan reported to Dorchester was for Kentucky to secede and join Spain, though it was suspected that her true intention was to declare independence of the union, seize New Orleans and then look to Great Britain for assistance. Letters from Kentuckians to Dorchester are extant speaking even then of the inevitable separation of the west from the east, the need of the former for foreign protection with the right of navigating the Mississippi and the alternative of an appeal to Spain or Britain. The latter country was advised to form connections with western men of influence and capacity. A few weeks later particulars are forwarded to Dorchester from Kentucky of a scheme to induce France to seize New Orleans with offers to put Great Britain in her place, to make Dorchester an active agent in the matter supplying in his turn arms and ammunition. Any objection on account of the present peaceful relations with Spain it was urged might fairly be waived, as that power had supplied money and material to the rebellious colonists of Britain. These matters interested Dorchester and he sent most of the documents to Sydney, stating, however, that he had declined to assist or even to give his opinion on the merits of the scheme. The French minister to the United States,

Count Moustier, at this moment asked leave to cross the border at Niagara and make the round tour by Montreal and down Lake Champlain, but Dorchester with all politeness possible felt himself obliged to decline the honour for reasons politic.

At Christmas, 1789, Dorchester received from Grenville, who had taken Sydney's place at the colonial office, the first draft of a new bill for the better government of Quebec, the object of which was to assimilate the constitution to that of Great Britain so far as circumstances would allow. Consideration for the French, said Grenville, had received great weight in the adoption of the new plan for dividing the province. Dorchester himself thought that the few thousand Loyalists at present settled to the west of Montreal hardly justified immediate division. He seems to have underrated, which with his level head and wide experience is singular, the great influx there would be from the States so soon as the fear of French laws and customs was removed. Respecting the boundaries of the two provinces, they were to be left blank in the draft of the Act. Members of the legislative council were to be honoured with baronetcies, and perhaps higher distinctions, if sufficient wealth flowed in to sustain them. The view of the Quebec British is expressed in a letter from Finlay, the deputy postmaster-general, to the home government. He professes not to know Dorchester's private opinion. Indeed the latter's reserve was notable till he came to act; but the writer gives a

receipt for converting the Canadians into Englishmen—a very old one it is true, and its possible efficacy at the time is still a matter of speculation, if a futile one, with some modern writers. The seigniors would certainly oppose any proposal to change the old system, and cherished, according to Finlay, mistaken ideas of their own importance.

Hope, the lieutenant-governor, was now dead, and Dorchester urged the need of a good sensible man of some rank to take his place. In answer to this Grenville offered the succession to Dorchester's brother, now lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, but if he preferred remaining there, which for somewhat obvious reasons he very sensibly did, Colonel Alured Clarke who had done well in Jamaica should be sent, as he ultimately was. Grenville approved of Dorchester's interest in the Kentucky movements. He commended his caution but suggested certain advantages that might arise from the threatened split in the confederacy. But the governor's interest in western matters was by no means an academic one, for the responsibility of the western posts, still held as a point of honour by Great Britain, to the resentment of the republic, lay heavily upon him. At any moment the American troops, traders and settlers, might become involved in a great Indian war. In such case the weakness of the posts would invite seizure by American forces heated with battle and exasperated with losses, and the seizure of the posts would inevitably lead to the

very conflict from which Dorchester by all reasonable means was anxious to save the British government. Danger came too, in 1790, from another quarter, in the shape of what is known in the troubled history of Pacific coast treaties as the "Nootka incident." The enormous distance which at that period separated Quebec from Vancouver Island may well seem to have removed this affair completely from Dorchester's sphere of anxieties. But it had its bearing on the western posts from the fact that it nearly provoked war with Spain, and Spain, as we have seen, was somewhat closely involved with that westward movement of the Americans which President Roosevelt in his notable volumes on the subject has aptly and euphoniously termed, *The Winning of the West*. But Spain, who had seized British vessels trading from a British post on Vancouver Island and by refusing all demands for satisfaction had brought the two countries to the brink of war, yielded at the last moment when France, being in no mood or condition for a great war about nothing, refused her support.

CHAPTER XII

THE CANADA ACT

LYMBURNER in the meantime had arrived in England, during the summer of 1789, to represent the views of the British-Canadians and of a fraction of the French who were against partition and in favour of an elective assembly. He somewhat ignored the paucity of his French supporters in urging the wishes of his fellow-colonists on the British government, but otherwise was a sensible and clear-headed man. Reforms of some kind were impending and inevitable, and it was only right that his party should be heard, particularly as many of their claims had become reasonable through altered circumstances and unforeseen developments. How plainly one seems to see this old faction-riven Quebec in the voluminous correspondence of the time—sometimes preserved in the original handwriting, French or English, crabbed or ornate, scholarly or illiterate, of the men who so unconsciously tell us its story, interleaved here and there with criticisms on the enclosures or characteristic disquisitions by governors and lieutenant-governors on the state of the country.

As one follows the arguments of these various advocates and puts oneself for the moment in their respective situations, it is sometimes difficult to

preserve a judicial twentieth century attitude and stamp them as the mere outbursts of prejudice or faction. Even those seemingly arrogant all-British fanatics that Dorchester so snubbed, and the congress sympathizers whom in duty bound he treated still more severely, had some justification. They were for the most part Americans, to use a convenient and significant designation. They were accustomed to democratic usages, such as had spelled prosperity for the communities that had produced them. Few of them had basked in the sunshine of those little vice-regal circles which had tempered the republicanism of a favoured group in each colony. They had been invited, under definite promises as they supposed, to Canada, a province that they had directly or indirectly helped to conquer with a great expenditure of blood and treasure. Eighteenth century conquerors had not attained to altruistic ethics, and they well knew that if the kings of France or their proconsuls had been in a similar position might would assuredly have spelled right. We may recall Frontenac's merciless intentions towards New England and New York, if support of such an unanswerable argument were needed.

Their case would appear less offensive to us moderns if they had simply demanded that the colony should be administered by the governor and council in the interest of British settlers, till these last assumed proportions that should make popular government restricted to themselves seem reasonable

to current opinion. But it was the cant cry of popular government, where current figures made mockery of the term and only spelled the tyranny of an ill-instructed few in naked characters, that has put the would-be-legislators of 1763 and 1787 so hopelessly out of court with most historians even of their own race. The downright policy of forcibly anglicizing the colony would have been at least honest and logical and not out of harmony with those times, if distasteful to ours; but not surely under such a caricature of popular freedom as their scheme involved.

It is still sometimes argued, and indeed quite open to argument, that sixty thousand scattered peasants might have been turned into freeholders, to their immediate relief; that some thirty or forty seigniorial families (there were twenty-seven officially returned in 1787) of small rent rolls might have been made permanently happy or at least comfortable, whether as exiles or otherwise, for a trifling sum in commutation. Religion might have been left severely alone, with stringent precautions against external intrigue through its means—easy enough to effect in an isolated country with an unhampered government. British settlers, it is argued, would have poured in freely. In a few decades a Protestant parliament would have been at least as representative of the country as that Protestant assembly dissolved in 1800 was representative of Ireland, and for having deprived them of which Irish Catholics

abuse England in such unmeasured terms. The effect of such a policy towards the Canadian peasantry firmly and benignantly administered by men like Carleton, or approximating to his likeness, might or might not have saved Canada from the racial friction that distracted and weakened her for so long, though at the expense of the French spirit and nationality which is nowadays such a factor in a peaceful land. It is quite easy to argue either its success or failure in convincing fashion. Putting political morality as we now hold it and race sentiment out of the question, it is an interesting if futile subject for reflection. Great Britain, to her credit, proved superior to the ethics of her day and in advance of the times—in advance indeed of her own offspring who held themselves to be the vanguard of political liberty. Happily the retort, possible at almost any other moment, that Britain in this generous action was influenced by fear of France is impossible, for in 1763 France was crushed, humiliated, and bankrupt, and her rival at the very zenith of her power. Nor does the more enlightened French view that Great Britain only did her duty, though in most creditable fashion, seem quite adequately to express the measure of her merit. Nor again should it be forgotten that her first viceroys, in the teeth of unceasing opposition, acted not only in the letter but in the spirit of their generous instructions.

But there were cleavages other than racial in this

little dominion of Dorchester's, if not such violent ones. Conflicting views and interests stand out plainly in the current literature and correspondence of the time, and contribute to its history. Scarcely any one, it must be remembered, was rich; nearly all were poor. A still infant trade was harassed by wars and rumours of wars. The incomes of *rentiers*, professional men and office-holders were small, and the struggle for place and position proportionately keen. Numbers of deserving people had lost much or all of their property in the invasion of 1775-6. The seigniors, as we have seen, had lost, as a class, their hold on the peasantry. A few of them, both before and after the conquest, had been extortionate in the matter of rents, to which there was no legal limit, and their *censitaires* proportionately irritated. Lanaudière, Dorchester's aide-de-camp, had offered his seigniory of thirty square leagues to the government for settlement with freeholders, but the rest opposed all change in land tenure for reasons already stated. To the British such obstacles to the free purchase and exchange of land proved an irritation and inconvenience, but still more they militated against the development of the country. The seigniories had been devised to keep a docile peasantry on the land, to prevent restlessness, and to preserve discipline; and the seigniors themselves had been instituted as trustees for the common weal rather than as ordinary landowners.

A seigniory could be sold only in bulk, but a fifth

of the purchase money went to the Crown. A tenant again or *censitaire* could sell his holding, but was liable always to the annual rent of a few *sous* an *arpent*, the seigniorial mill rights and, what was more serious still as an obstruction to ready transfer, liable also to the *lods et ventes*—by which a twelfth of the purchase money went to the seignior, including of course a twelfth of the improvements. In the neighbourhood of towns these restrictions with many minor ones almost strangled the sale of land. A prosperous trader in Quebec, to give an example, could not buy a country place a mile or two out of town untrammelled by these curiously belated and un-American burdens. The inrush of Loyalist settlers could be accommodated only outside the seigniories, which not merely pressed them back with their improvements into less accessible regions but left a vast amount of available wilderness almost indefinitely wild. As free and common socage was the only tenure acceptable to these American or British newcomers, another set of land laws was required within the province. The complications were even greater than a modern reader might suppose, and there is neither space nor need to elaborate here the many minor details that now confronted the administration. When a thousand or two townsmen represented and seemed likely for some time to represent the British element, there would have been small wisdom in rooting up the Canadian land system, seeing that toleration of it had been formally accepted. But now fresh developments

compelled some modification of this archaic survival and created a situation which may well seem extraordinary in a vast and almost virgin country, carrying, even in 1791, but some one hundred and thirty thousand souls. The notaries, it might be added, by education and identity of interest and a natural preference for their own laws, were mostly with the seigniors in their attachment to the system.

The clergy appear to have outlived such little unpleasantness as the American sympathizers had stirred up between them and their flocks anent the legalizing of the dime. There had been some difficulty too about a supply of priests since the connection with France had been severed, the local supply qualified for the more important offices proving short. Importations from old France had been interdicted for obvious and sufficient reasons, while permission to introduce priests from the Catholic provinces of central Europe seems to have been little if at all utilized. Bishop Hubert indeed intimated to Dorchester that the plan was not agreeable, though he had recognized as reasonable the veto against the introduction of ecclesiastics from the dominions of the House of Bourbon. Those who most objected to the proposed partition of the province were naturally the British residents within what would be the limits of the old one, and who saw the recent and unexpected addition to their ranks, with the hopes thus raised, in prospect of being in great part wrenched away. Lymburner, as we have

seen, was their eloquent advocate and pleaded their cause for many hours before a committee of the House of Commons. Dorchester's objections, already quoted, to the partition were less fervent and due to another cause, namely a distrust of the ripeness of so small a community for self-government. Perhaps his experiences of the British politicians of Quebec and Montreal had influenced his judgment.

In March, 1790, however, he sent home a list of suitable persons for seats in the legislative and executive councils of the two proposed provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. For the former he mainly relies on the judgment of Sir John Johnson, whose services entitled him to be its first governor. But before his letters were received in England Simcoe had been already appointed. It seems that the home government considered Johnson's private interests in western Canada as too considerable for the detachment of mind necessary to their representative in the new province. These details were arranged in the spring of this year, as it had been intended to pass the bill through during the session. Dorchester was anxious to go to London himself, both on private accounts and for the better conduct of a measure fraught with so much importance to Canada. But now as ever, placing his country's interests before his personal inclinations and convenience, he accepted at once a hint of Grenville's that it would be acceptable to the king if he would remain at his post while the state of the West continued so critical. It is true that

his agents in the United States, who always kept him well informed, reported that no attack would be made on the British posts that year, but then the Spanish trouble over the Nootka Sound was brewing, and Dorchester foresaw complications on the western frontier should war break out with that power.

Dorchester did not receive the news of Simcoe's appointment with complacency. The bill had been postponed in the session of 1790, and he wrote again to Grenville in September urging the claims of Sir John Johnson, his distinguished services, and the discontent which their non-recognition would arouse among the Loyalists of his country. He again urged that Johnson should be appointed governor of the new province and colonel of the militia, while Simcoe could with advantage take charge of the Indian department. The non-acceptance of Dorchester's views on this point was the key no doubt to the uneasy terms upon which he stood towards Simcoe when the latter eventually took office. The former's views, as communicated at length to the government, did not approve, as we have seen, of an immediate concession of popular government. He proposed that the four western districts should be placed under a lieutenant-governor, and that a firm and benevolent government should be established. He had always rejected the idea of high-sounding hereditary rank among the colonists. He had strong leanings, however, towards some sort of aristocracy for the new settlements, and made the proposal so often alluded

to in modern times that the Loyalist immigrants should have the right and their children after them to affix the letters U.E. to their names. But he objected to all proposals for making the office of legislative councillor hereditary—knowing better than the home government the fluctuations of fortune in colonial life. This plan was adopted, however, and embodied in the Act, though common sense and experience endorsed Dorchester's views and kept it a dead letter. His notions of an aristocracy were of a wider and less conspicuous kind. He could not guess how completely Upper Canada, without the aid of any outward marks of distinction, would develop his theory, though not altogether perhaps upon the lines he would have appoved of or with as much success as he anticipated.

The western boundary of the proposed new province also perplexed him not a little. To include the western forts, such as Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, would be to encroach on territory ceded to the United States by treaty and provoke their hostility at once, while to leave them out of British jurisdiction involved complications. The result was that no definitions of the western and southern limits of the province were included in the Act at all. In general terms Dorchester held to the principle that had marked both periods of his administration. "A considerable degree of attention," he wrote, "is due to the prejudice and habits of the French inhabitants who compose so large a propor-

tion of the community, and every degree of caution should be used to continue to them the enjoyment of those civil and religious rights which were secured to them by the capitulation of the province, or have since been granted by the liberal and enlightened spirit of the British government." Every active mind had some suggestions to make at this important moment, and Dorchester's chief-justice, Smith, not always in agreement with his friend and superior, put his contribution to the literature of the movement in the governor's hands for transmission to England.

Smith heartily concurs in the partition of the province but would fain do more than this. As an old and leading member of the former colony of New York he dreads the weakness inherent in a group of democratic assemblies all pulling different ways in time of danger—for he knew well that nothing but the fortunate combination of a Washington, the French alliance and the Germain-Howe insanities, could have saved the revolting colonies from disaster. He had seen them recently, at the close of a successful war, doing their utmost to stultify its results by fatuous quarrelling, bickerings and jealousy of each other and of all authority. Smith, in short, was nearly a century before his time and advocated nothing less than a combination of all the British North American provinces, Newfoundland included, under a central administration and a federal assembly. "I am old enough," he writes, "to remember what we in the Maritime Provinces dreaded from this French

colony and what it cost to take away that dread which confined our population to the edge of the Atlantic." He adds to a long and interesting letter, ten clauses embodying his scheme as additions to the new Canada Act. Upon the whole we may credit Chief-Justice Smith with the gift of foresight in no ordinary degree.

The introduction of the Canada Act had been deferred on account of the threatened war with Spain, whose territorial interests were so interwoven with American western progress. Throughout the first half of 1791, while the Act was passing through the British parliament, Dorchester remained in Canada, though he had been invited[1] by the ministry to come over in March and assist in the completion of the bill. Faction and agitation were lulled by the impending change in the constitution, but it was a busy enough season for the governor, as his official correspondence plainly shows. Every matter of the smallest moment from Detroit to Gaspé seems to have come under his notice, and many matters also which were by no means small. The constant friction upon the western frontier, the appeals of traders and Indians, the reports of agents and officers—full of rumours, false and true, of warlike encounters between Indians and Americans—were always with him, while the various surveys, charters, grants, and the infinite minutiæ inevitable to the settlement of thousands of people at widely

[1] See appendix Y.

scattered points added to the complexity of his responsibilities. Clerical matters, too, had to come under his surveillance, both Catholic and Protestant, for the newly organized Church of England was now concerned with the building of churches and rectories and the acquisition of lands, while the chronic question of the Jesuits' estates was always in the front.

But we must leave Dorchester to these multifarious duties of no special moment to our story, and follow as briefly as may be the fortunes of the Canada Act in its by no means tranquil passage through the British parliament to the royal desk.

On March 4th, 1791, the bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, and on the twenty-third Mr. Lymburner made the long address to the members already alluded to. He opposed the bill in its present form. As representative of the British Quebec interest he pleaded for a total repeal of the Quebec Act and against the partition of the province. He told the story of inefficient judges and miscarried justice and the general confusion in all legal matters which Dorchester's commission, it will be remembered, exposed in somewhat dramatic fashion. He alluded to the proposed partition as a "violent measure," and thought that if the parts were separated any future attempts to combine them would be hopeless. He was also of opinion that the country beyond Niagara, which

in no long time became the garden of Canada, could never be of much importance on account of the barrier to transport offered by the Falls. He was emphatic, where Dorchester was only doubtful, as to the difficulty of finding sufficient capable men who would leave the clearing of their farms for legislative duties. Lymburner being a Scot, not an American, failed to realize what experience and talent existed among the United Empire Loyalists. Having delivered these and many other destructive arguments, he then proceeded to the constructive theories of his party, modified in some particulars by concessions to the inevitable.

A House of Assembly was naturally in the forefront, though the admission of Catholics was at last recognized as unavoidable. Its sessions should be triennial. There should be a legislative council of life members. Hereditary seats in it, however, like every sensible man in Canada, he would have none of. He advocated the criminal law of England, together with the same code of commercial law and the *habeas corpus*, while in the matter of land, marriage settlements, dower and inheritance, the law of Canada might be retained so far as Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal were concerned. In the rest of the provinces the common law of England should prevail, and he argued that there should be power when petitioned for to accept the surrender of the feudal grants of a seigniory and to re-apportion the land in free and common socage.

Soon afterwards the merchants trading with Canada presented a petition against the Act, on the ground that the measure would be damaging to the commerce of the colony. Fox spoke against the bill, urging that it was not sufficiently liberal. Towards the end of April it was in committee. The attendance, as usual in colonial matters of a peaceful nature, was scanty, and an adjournment was asked for and refused by Pitt. Burke took part in the debate to declare against the division of the province, and also to air his strenuous views on the French Revolution, and to provoke the famous quarrel and final breach between Fox and himself which here took place. Canada and her affairs were nearly lost sight of through the irrelevancy of Burke's peroration, which was made the object of outcries from the floor, and sharp reminders from the chair. Indeed, the colony seems to have been chiefly serviceable to the great orator in this debate as an excuse for indulging in sonorous adjectives that invited alliteration, though "bleak and barren" were not felicitous ones for a country of universal forest and considerable fertility. That, however, did not much matter in the House of Commons, nor perhaps would it now. The opinions of the numerous private members of parliament who expressed themselves with much complacency upon a question which was still a source of some doubt and perplexity even to Dorchester are of no consequence. Their votes were, however, of consequence, and the

Act was carried through both Houses, and became law on May 14th, 1791.

The intention of the Act was to assimilate the new constitution of the two Canadian provinces as nearly as possible to that of Great Britain. The legislative council of Quebec, or Lower Canada, was to consist of not less than fifteen members, its elective assembly of not less than thirty, half of whom were to form a quorum. The minimum strength of the council and assembly of Upper Canada was fixed at seven and sixteen respectively. The preponderating wealth and intelligence of the British merchants was partly recognized by the allotment to the towns of Quebec, Montreal, Three Rivers, and Sorel of two members apiece. The provinces were to be divided into electoral districts based so far as possible on population, and not on geographical area. The qualification for both voters and candidates was liberal, providing they were of age, and either born or naturalized subjects. A forty shilling freehold, or its equivalent, was the qualification in the country, and in the town the ownership of a house worth five pounds a year or the occupancy of one producing twice that amount. The Crown withdrew all right to taxation except as regards such duties as it might be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of the same to be applied in every case to the use of the province they were collected in.

There was provision, too, for the exchange of the

seigniorial tenure into freehold on petition. It was by this Act, too, that one-seventh of the Crown lands was set apart for the "support of a Protestant clergy." This apparently comprehensive term was defined in another clause more precisely. This last empowered the erection of parsonages when required in each township of the English district "according to the establishment of the Church of England," and endowed them with the reserved lands of that particular township. In the long disputes which this measure gave rise to in after years, the first part of the ordinance was loudly quoted by the non-Anglicans without its supplement, which leaves no doubt of the intention of the Act, whatever its wisdom. The boundary between the two provinces was virtually the same as to-day.[1] The western bounds of Upper Canada, however, were left undefined for good reasons, as we have seen; those between Quebec and New Brunswick were deferred for local settlement. The Crown reserved to itself the fullest powers of veto and appointment. The governors of Lower Canada, however, still retained as before the suzerainty, to use a convenient term, over all the other provinces and their lieutenant-governors, Upper Canada of course included.

[1] This Act did not divide the country into Upper and Lower Canada. This was done by order-in-council, August 24th, 1791, after the Act was passed.

CHAPTER XIII

A NEW SITUATION

DORCHESTER sailed for England on August 18th, 1791, leaving Sir Alured Clarke, the new lieutenant-governor, in charge. Clarke had gained some reputation in the West Indies, and sustained it by his conduct in Canada. It was his privilege to inaugurate the first step in constitutional government, though perhaps of a more apparent than actual kind, the Act passing into effect with much ceremony and festivity on December 26th. The council remained much as before:—Chief-Justice Smith (Speaker), St. Ours, Finlay, Baby, Dunn, DeLongueuil, Panet, Mabane, DeLevy, Harrison, Collins, Lanaudière, Pownall, de Boucherville, John Fraser and Sir John Johnson, the first eight composing the executive. The House of Assembly did not meet till the following December, 1792, when fifty members took their seats, two from each district, or county. The names which Clarke applied to these newly created countries are not felicitous. Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Bedford and Surrey had not been wholly inappropriate to the broad fields of the once Church and king-loving Anglo-Virginian squires, and, indeed, in due course acquired something of the very atmosphere suggested by

these time-honoured names. But their sudden application to this northern land of French Catholic peasants is something of a shock even to the reader a century afterwards, though curiously characteristic of that inartistic side of the British character which covered the backwoods and prairies of the United States with embryonic classic cities. How these amazing designations fared at the hands of the *habitants* we may not know—still worse even than William Henry (*vice* Sorel) no doubt.

As Dorchester was absent and my space is dwindling, I must not linger over Clarke's two years of office; nor dwell further upon the still seething dangers of the West, with open war raging between the Americans and Indians, and disasters to the former, which increased his correspondence and kept him anxious and busy. Nor is it possible to draw any picture of this first mixed assembly of thirty-four French and sixteen British representatives of the people, with the lingual and other little difficulties, the one to be perennial, the others merely those of inexperience. It should be noted as a social incident that Prince Edward, our late Queen's father, arrived with his regiment, the 7th Fusileers, at Quebec just before Dorchester left, and as a political one that Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, landed in November, 1791, on his way to his official duties. His first despatches, a business at which he was notoriously prolific, do not suggest much political acumen, for

he had formed the opinion that Hamilton was anxious for war with England, and he did not himself think much of Washington's character. But Simcoe was both an admirable man and a good administrator, as readers of these volumes know.

War had been declared by France against Great Britain and Holland some six months prior to Dorchester's return to Canada. When he landed at Quebec, after just two years of absence, on September 23rd, 1793, it was not before his presence was required. A new situation had to be faced, for no one could guess what the attitude of the French-Canadians would be when Great Britain and their own mother country were engaged in deadly strife. That the quarrel was with the government of the Revolution and not with that of the old régime might or might not mitigate the situation. Racial sentiment would be equally powerful in both cases, but the Church and upper classes would have been more dangerous in the former, the peasantry in the latter, as was soon apparent.

Quebec greeted its old and much loved governor with a general illumination. Bishop Jacob Mountain, too, arrived soon after Dorchester to be the first prelate of the Canadas, for hitherto they had been in ecclesiastical dependence on the but little older see of Nova Scotia. Dr. Mountain had been a fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, tutor and private secretary to Pitt, rector of a Norwich parish, and was now to imprint his name worthily and in-

delibly on Canadian records. There were now about a dozen Anglican clergymen altogether in the two Canadas, but in Quebec neither church nor rectory, service being still held in the chapel of the Récollets.

The crisis of the Revolution and the fall of the French monarchy had occurred during Dorchester's absence. The American republic was quivering with excitement, further stimulated by French agents, and the ripples of the tumult were being felt in the heart of the French-Canadian parishes. The old adage that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery accounted, no doubt, for part of this exuberance. The wave of Gallican sentiment that swept over the Southern and Middle States is perhaps the most extraordinary and, in some ways, unaccountable movement in the history of the country. Carolina, Virginia and Maryland planters whose only acquaintance with privilege and tyranny was such as they had themselves exercised over their own negroes—who were not, by the way, included in this saturnalia of freedom and license—danced wildly about crowned with caps of liberty like emancipated slaves, and exchanged the modest courtesies of American democratic life for the fantastic crudities of French *sans-culottes.*

The notorious and impossible Genet had landed at Charleston, a few weeks before Dorchester left England, as minister of the French republic, and executed a triumphant overland progress to Philadelphia. The exuberant and exotic mummery which

lined the country roads and dragged the chariot of this ridiculous Jack-in-office through the towns, brings a blush to the cheek of the modern American as he reads of it. Never, probably, did a sane and sensible people give way to such an exhibition of far-fetched and misplaced banality. Jefferson pulled the strings of his puppet till the latter's caperings broke them and left that vain and crafty demagogue cursing his own lack of discrimination. The leaders of the Federalists and all sensible men looked on aghast. Washington and Hamilton did more than look on, for Genet fitted out privateers in American ports and seized British shipping actually in American estuaries. Every one knows how the story ended, and how after insulting everybody all round, Washington and even Jefferson included, this unique specimen of a diplomat was sent about his business. Fearing to go home he became naturalized as an American, and died in the country forty years later.

With all his feckless effrontery, Genet had been dangerously active, during the few months he was at large, in his endeavours to drag America into a war with England. His agents were in every direction and were busy intriguing among the Canadians. The French Revolution was even a better card for such men to play than the two clauses of the Quebec Act utilized for the same purpose in 1775. Moreover, on this occasion it was Frenchmen appealing to Frenchmen, for many of these emissaries were Canadians who had deemed it prudent to leave the country after

the 1775-6 troubles, and had gathered much worldly wisdom in the wider atmosphere of the American republic. A French Utopia, where everything was to be had for the asking and vexatious laws and burdens swept away, presented, moreover, at the hands of a French fleet or army, was a much more alluring programme than the more doubtful promises of the Bastonnais in 1775. France no longer represented the very mixed blessings that its re-adoption implied in the days of the monarchy. Seigniors, tithes, taxes, *corvées* and soldiering had no place in the new order, so they were told with more grain of truth than the Bastonnais Utopia had contained. One need not say what the priests thought of all this, nor yet the seigniors for whom a red republican army, even a French one, had small attraction. Some of the notary and doctor class, themselves derived from the peasantry and from whom alone in French Canada political adventurers could spring, seem, however, to have regarded the new gospel with less repugnance. Besides all this, one of the two great parties in America, that of Jefferson and Madison, crafty and ill-balanced leaders who had never themselves smelt powder, and the former of whom was sometimes even credited with a lack of normal physical courage, was breathing fire and slaughter against England and all belonging to her in senseless and suicidal fashion. The South, as the more ignorant section, formed the main strength of their party, while the provinces bordering on Canada supported

Washington, Hamilton and Jay in their efforts to maintain neutrality and their predilections for Anglo-Saxon ideals with a qualified friendliness for Great Britain.

Such was the highly charged atmosphere in which Dorchester once again found himself, and now, as ever, with but a handful of troops and an unreliable militia. One knows nothing definite of how he had passed his time in England, nor does it signify. He kept in touch with his deputy at Quebec and the British government, but otherwise, no doubt, was taking that well-earned rest which his advancing years and his labours past and to come made requisite; for he was now nearly seventy, and had lived a strenuous life. He had by this time, too, a large family, and so far as we know was a domestic man with no taste for staking his patrimony at Brookes's, nor for the deep potations of Fox and Pitt. Nor, again, had his health in Canada been always of the best.

Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, was still at Quebec, and remained there in command of the 7th Regiment until the January following Dorchester's arrival. He had made himself extremely popular with all classes, and only left for active service in the West Indies. Kent House, above the Montmorency Falls, still serves to remind us of a prince who is chiefly interesting, perhaps, as Queen Victoria's father, though he has some special claim to notice from the fact that he held commands in

British North America for seven years, the last four of them being spent at Halifax. Dorchester had on this occasion to reply to the many addresses of regret at the prince's departure which reached Quebec. The latter had left in a hurry to reach the scene of action, and while travelling on the ice over Lake Champlain the sleighs containing all his personal effects disappeared down an air-hole and were seen no more. At Boston we are told he had to ship in a small vessel of six guns, which ran the gauntlet of the French cruisers and only escaped by its fast sailing powers, though it received their fire.

The first news Dorchester had to send home was the failure of the peace conference between the American commissioners and the Indians, including both those of the West and the Six Nations, who demanded that their territory as far as the Ohio should remain inviolate. On November 11th, he opened the second parliament of Lower Canada, with Panèt as speaker of the assembly. He urged the necessity of passing laws for the administration of justice, and he laid stress on the inadequate means of defence against foreign enemies. The finances too came up, and may serve to show the extraordinary disproportion between revenue and expenditure, so great, indeed, as to throw four-fifths of the cost of government (which was about twenty-five thoussand pounds a year, while the revenue was only five thousand pounds) on the Crown. This condition of things contributed to stultify the power

of the popular assembly.[1] The veto of the upper chamber and the Crown could be exercised without any fear whatever of consequences. The one effective weapon of a parliament, namely, the withholding of supplies, was unavailable when the supplies were mainly furnished by the British government, while in regard to the legislative council, though its members held their seats for life, that very fact inclined them against popular departures and to sympathy with the governor. French influence, though not yet aggressively developed, was naturally in the ascendant from its great numerical preponderance. Both languages were used in debate, and the services of an interpreter were regularly employed. In this first session of Dorchester's, Panet was made judge and de Lotbinière was chosen speaker. In November Dorchester issued a proclamation in English and French requiring magistrates, captains of militia, and all good subjects to seek and secure persons holding seditious discourses, spreading false news, or publishing libellous papers. He turned his attention also towards improving the defences of Quebec, and passing a militia bill.

Indeed, the military problem was upon him again in all its seeming hopelessness, and the dangers from within and without as imminent as ever. He issued orders for the embodiment of two thousand militia; but though the British, who were now more numer-

[1] See appendix Z.

ous than formerly, came forward "with alacrity," the *habitants* objected strongly to the service. French and American intriguers had played upon this string among others, and had succeeded in convincing the peasantry that to be balloted as a militiaman implied military service for life. "Nothing," writes Carleton, "is too absurd for them to believe." The first day they were called out to furnish their proportion of the two thousand to be enrolled for service they broke into a mob, and refused to be balloted for. Two were sent to prison for riot and the country parishes threatened to rescue them. The British proportion of militia was only seventy out of two thousand, and this, said Carleton, did not escape their observation.

Monk, whose voluminous correspondence with Nepean has been preserved, speaks of the alarm created among the merchants by Dorchester's speech in March. He, too, tells of the general spread of French principles, and speaks of the whole country as so infested with them that it was found on calling out the militia that there was scarcely a hope of assistance from the new subjects. Threats, he writes, were used by the disaffected against the few who were found loyal. "It is astonishing to find the same savagery exhibited here as in France in so short a period for corruption. Blood alliances do not check the menaces upon the non-complying peasants. These include the burning of houses, death, embowelling, decapitation and carrying heads

on poles, as the depositions show, besides throwing off all regard for religion." The intrigues were traced to Genet and the now numerous French consuls. Correspondence had been carried on between Canadians in the United States and the disaffected in Canada, and French emissaries had been sent in to prepare the people to follow the example of France. Monk thought that nothing less than five thousand troops in Canada till the war was ended would secure the country. An address entitled, *Les Français libres à leurs frères les Canadiens*, was read at a church door, and circulated as a pamphlet. In this the people were urged to "follow the example of France and the United States, and to upset a throne so long the seat of hypocrisy and imposture, despotism, greed, and cruelty. Their assembly is a mockery, and secret machinations are employed everywhere to upset its efforts at better laws. Canadians, arm yourselves, call your friends, the Indians, to your assistance, count on the sympathy of your neighbours and of the French." Everything in short was to be abolished, and the *habitants* would find themselves in the delightful position of an independent nation in league with France and the United States, and would immediately rise to the blessings of that liberal education and establish those institutions for science and the higher arts for which they had been pining, and the free prosecution of that ocean commerce to which their genius and inclinations were

so inclined. Even the *habitant*, accustomed as he must now have been to broadsides of unintelligible bombast, must have rubbed his eyes at the burning ambitions with which he was here credited. The prospect, however, of getting everything for nothing was plain enough amid the cloud of verbiage, and to an illiterate peasantry this fact has seldom failed to appeal.

CHAPTER XIV

CLOSING YEARS

IN this war with the French republic the situation was in some respects more serious for British interests in Canada than it had been when the former country was actually allied with the Americans in the revolutionary struggle; for France was at that time still a monarchy, and her emissaries, even with the utmost exercise of casuistry, could hardly make much of the retrospective blessings of the ancient régime as a stimulant to Canadian discontent, while the seigniors and the Church, who might have been susceptible, had been attached to the British connection by practical, and to them beneficent, measures. Washington, too, in those days, as may be remembered, had been entirely opposed to a resurrection of French power in Canada. Now, however, France was a republic, and though war against Great Britain was never declared by the States it was regarded in 1793-4 as imminent, and it would have been promoted by a party that had an almost fanatical affection for its sister republic, short-lived though this affection proved.

Jefferson, Madison and Randolph were possessed of an insensate hatred of Great Britain and were

followed in this by their fellow Southerners, the least instructed and most excitable portion of the republic in foreign affairs. Moreover, the indebtedness to Great Britain throughout this section was much greater than in any other, and the temptation to wriggle out of these debts by a war which would be much more keenly felt in the North was great to a population whose notions of financial morality make the speeches in the Virginia assembly of that day instructive reading. No people more profoundly ignorant of France and Frenchmen could have been found in the world than the noisy factions who were then clamouring for a warlike alliance with her against Great Britain. Dorchester thought war was certain, and at this moment he had occasion to harangue the Miami Indians in a speech which created considerable excitement in the United States. He remembered very well, he told them, the line they had pointed out three years ago, just before his last departure for England, as the boundary they desired between themselves and the States, and how he had promised to represent their situation and wishes to the king, and expressed his hope that all the grievances they complained of on the part of the United States would soon be done away with by a just and lasting peace. Dorchester went on to say that he had waited long but had not yet received one word of satisfaction from Americans, and from what he could learn of their conduct

towards the Indians, he would not be surprised if the English were at war with them during the present year, and then a line must be drawn by the warriors. "What further can I say to you? You are a witness that on our part we have acted in the most peaceable manner and borne the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience, but I believe our patience is almost exhausted."

The report of this address having been obtained by American sympathizers in Montreal, was forwarded to congress and published in the American papers. Jefferson's party made the most of it, and appealed to Hammond, the English minister, denouncing Dorchester's speech as "hostility itself." Hammond reported the matter to Dundas, the secretary, and Dundas wrote to Dorchester in a tone bordering on reproof, for the treaty which the Federal party were labouring to make with Great Britain was now in progress and Jay had made a favourable impression in London. Nothing was known, however, of these improved prospects on the western frontier in the summer of 1794. Reports had just come in that Wayne's army to the south of Lake Erie was two thousand strong, besides five hundred more in garrison. Forty dollars was being paid for scalps, and one thousand dollars was offered for Simon Girty's, a famous British scout who had cut some figure in the old French wars. War with Great Britain was regarded as in-

evitable, and Wayne was only waiting to advance against the Indians till their corn was ripe. Dorchester replied to Dundas's letter expressing a wish to resign. In another letter, assuming some freedom of speech as the *doyen* of colonial governors, he replied that no secretary was long enough in office to acquire sufficient knowledge of a colony. He might well have said more, and to the effect that no minister in London was qualified to direct every movement and interfere in every detail in a distant country whose political, physical and social atmosphere was so hopelessly outside his vision. Such, however, was the deplorable custom of that time. But the Duke of Portland, taking alarm at the prospect of losing a man who for the apparently impending crisis was their only hope, wrote denying that any reproof was implied. On the contrary, he thought Dorchester had been quite right in the Miami matter.

This affair was by no means confined to Dorchester's oration, but included the rebuilding of a fort by Simcoe, with his approval, in the Indian territory some fifteen miles south of Lake Erie, on the Maumee. This had been done in the preceding spring. Indeed the station had been fortified and occupied by British detachments ever since the close of the war, but a year or two previously, trade having left it, it had been abandoned. But now with a fresh war impending, it was rebuilt as a defence to Detroit, and, under legal guise, as being in Indian territory

not yet, at least, surrendered by treaty to the States. The action, however, made some little stir in the latter country as an invasion of territory. Dorchester had much trouble, too, with the posts on Lake Champlain, occupied just now by small detachments. The Vermonters, who at one time had professed such partiality for British rule, had changed their minds completely, and had given both Alured Clarke and Dorchester the utmost annoyance by petty insults and outrages on their small outposts. They had even made an offer to congress to conquer Canada unaided. It may be remembered that heady Vermonter, Ethan Allen, had undertaken to do the same with Montreal, and had found his way instead to a prison in Cornwall. American historians for the most part insist that the commander of the western British posts encouraged the Indians in their resistance to the United States! Well knowing that this meant a general war and almost certain destruction of these weak isolated forts as well as the probable conquest of Canada, we are asked to suppose that Sir John Johnson, Butler, Hamilton, McKee, Campbell, and above all the less prominent officers in lonely and remote commands, were nothing less than madmen. Dorchester's dread of war is conspicuous in all his western instructions.

The voluminous correspondence of his officers is eloquent of their precarious position should war break out. To allege that St. Clair's defeat had not given them satisfaction would be to write them down as

less than human, but to picture them as stirring up a bloody war with France and the United States combined, is to suppose them men wearied of life, of liberty, of employment, even of patriotism. One can only suppose that American writers, who follow one another in such statements, have not read the redundant correspondence that for many years passed between the western posts and Quebec, and in these, at least, there was sufficient plain speaking. Young subalterns and captains may—nay, we know from these letters they did—reply to the bombastic defiance of irresponsible Kentucky riflemen under the walls of their own forts with spirit, but no responsible officer did, or could do, otherwise than dread a war which would almost certainly have landed them as prisoners in the United States. To do them justice, most of their contemporaries in rank on the American side kept well within the letter of their instructions, which was to refrain from all offence. But Wayne summoned Fort Miami to surrender as being a re-constructed post outside what he considered to be Canadian territory. Major Campbell, however, refused, and there was some acute correspondence between them. The former had just shattered the Indian resistance at Fort Recovery, though at a loss to himself of two hundred and fifty men.

Jay's Treaty was negotiated in the year 1794, though only ratified in the next, amid the uproar of the Jeffersonians, then known as the Republican party. Washington and Hamilton, his good political

genius, if we may say so, were determined to keep on terms with England and avoid entanglement with France, whose wrath knew no bounds on publication of the treaty. That England was prepared to meet them at least half-way, the private correspondence of British ministers and their American and colonial representatives is better evidence than the noisy turbulence of provincial demagogues, politicians, and land-grabbers. Under the circumstances, France may be pardoned her ebullition of feeling, which sent the American envoys within her gates to the right about, and treated Americans and American ships with a harshness that would have provoked actual war if retaliation had been decent or prudent. But the Federal party, all the more that their gratitude to the France of 1778 was still strong within them, saw more clearly the drift of republican France, and amid the passions of virtual civil war could not forget that Americans were by race, blood and language, and every instinct that guided their political and domestic life, Englishmen and not Frenchmen. A sanguinary and domestic struggle could not change their flesh and blood, their traditions of centuries, nor ally them in anything but the mere link of friendly treaties to a nation stranger to them even than to the English of old England. Hamilton said Talleyrand was "the first American to divine Europe," and upon the rhodomontade of hot-blooded but intensely provincial Anglo-American farmers and planters, Hamilton looked with the

disapproval and contempt of a cool-headed and far-sighted man.

In May, 1794, Dorchester succeeded without difficulty in getting an Alien Act passed by the assembly, for all sorts of people were coming and going in Canada. In spite of the threatened war, emigrants, from the States chiefly, were pouring in steadily, attracted by easy terms of land and favourable reports of its fertility. Many of these no doubt looked ahead and calculated that Canada in a short time and without much disturbance would be included in the republic. There was beyond doubt, too, an element, particularly in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, whose motives and sentiments, without being, perhaps, clearly defined, were widely different from those of the Loyalists. To this day the old British population of the Townships, in part at least, suggests that ancient affinity with the frontiers of Vermont from whose overflow it drew so many of its earlier settlers; men not at that time greatly concerned with flags, politics and boundaries, but with a keen eye for a stretch of alluvial river bottom and a slope of hardwood timber facing the sun.

The Alien Act was lengthy and elaborate. It will be enough to say here that it was enacted against the danger arising at this inflammable time from the settlement of persons not British subjects. Each captain had to give a list of foreigners on board his ship, while the passengers in their turn

had to prove their identity. In cases of treason or suspicion the Habeas Corpus Act could be suspended, and "assemblages of people, seditious discourses, false news" were to be carefully watched, and if needed the Act was to be suppressed. It was to be enforced for a year. The time was one of imminent peril, and no well-intentioned subject, French or English, was going to split hairs over such reasonable methods of precaution. They were not directed at such domestic matters as were then at issue, for these at the moment were not very acute and in any case had become of minor consequence. Indeed, the attitude of a large part of the peasantry had become so serious, not merely about Montreal, which was always the storm centre, but even in parishes adjoining Quebec, such as Charlesbourg and Beauport, that prominent men of both nationalities formed societies for the public safety and sank their civic differences. Monk, who was very useful in organizing them, writes to Dundas that by the suggestions of Dumontier a number of officials and friends of government had been marked for assassination in case of a successful invasion.

Arrangements, too, had been permitted for settling refugees from France, and Dorchester found this used as a vehicle for introducing Frenchmen of another kind and with other objects. The distinction was not easy to draw. The Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt visited the colony in the summer of 1795 and remained for some time as

Simcoe's guest in Upper Canada. But Dorchester felt it prudent to forbid him access to the Lower Province lest his presence should be taken for an expression of active sympathy on the part of France for the malcontents.

Dorchester kept in close touch all this time with the Maritime Provinces, and there was a good deal of correspondence going backwards and forwards between himself and his brother in charge of New Brunswick, and with Wentworth, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. In the former province a regiment of six hundred men was raised. In 1795 the cost of government for the year was, in round numbers, twenty-five thousand pounds, while the net revenue had risen to ten thousand pounds. The customs for both provinces were levied in Quebec, and the estimated proportion, one-eighth, due to the Upper Province was paid over to it. The crops for the above year, too, were very short, and it was necessary to call on England for grain, a proceeding quite unusual since the old French days when the necessity was almost perennial. By this year, however, things began to quiet down. A draft of Jay's Treaty had been forwarded to Canada and copies were circulated not only in the east but in the west. It had yet to be ratified, but still the mere fact of its being drafted had a good effect. The militia, however, were called out as a test and their reluctance to serve well justified the dread of war. It was not only the intrigues of outsiders that had

brought about this insubordination. What Dorchester had written ten years before during the American invasion might have been repeated now with even greater force: "A people so disused to military service for twenty-seven years do not willingly take up the firelock and march to the frontier when their passions are not strongly agitated." The constitutional associations of the upper classes, however, had done much good, and Dorchester was able to report an improved condition of affairs. Moreover, in the course of 1795, Jay's Treaty was ratified, and it was definitely agreed that the western posts were to be given up in the following year, peace being made in the meantime between the Indians and the United States.

Dorchester had waged continual war against those fees and perquisites which he considered brought the officials of the province into disrepute, lowered the dignity of government, and created justifiable discontent. Osgoode, who had been made chief-justice of Quebec in 1794, received the appointment on the understanding that it no longer carried any of these emoluments. There was a great deal of official work going on, too, in connection with the allotment of lands to the new settlers, and the same opportunities occurred to unscrupulous officials in Canada as in a more wholesale and shameless way were being embraced on the other side of the boundary. These lapses, however, became more flagrant, and expanded into more open scandals,

with their inevitable exposures, in the days of Dorchester's successor. Fees to the governor would seem to have been, formerly, quite usual in connection with land grants, but Dorchester voluntarily surrendered his, and was cordially thanked by Portland for so doing. He felt strongly, too, the iniquity of men in England being planted on a colony which they never saw, and having their duties performed by deputies. It was these absentees who were often the worst offenders, for they took no interest whatever in the work done by their deputies, but only an abiding one in the fees accruing therefrom. In a letter to Portland, Dorchester regrets that gentlemen in England should look to America for compensation for their petty political services. It had produced a sufficiently evil effect in the revolted colonies, and would have the same in those that were still left to the Crown. These persons, he ventured to suggest, should receive such remuneration in their offices as to place them above pecuniary speculation in the colonies, and Dorchester had earned the right, if any one had, to speak plainly on the subject. For though by no means a rich man, and with a large family, his long rule in Canada had been distinguished not merely by scrupulous honesty, but by a self-abnegation in money matters rare enough in those days.

The treaty with America brought on the question of settling large numbers of the Indians on British territory. The details of this distribution, however,

fell to Simcoe and his officers, though Dorchester was insistent for information concerning them, and did not allow Simcoe to forget that his immediate chief was at Quebec and not in the British colonial office. This brings us to the misunderstanding between these two admirable and faithful servants of the Crown. It belongs, however, to Simcoe's story rather than to that of Dorchester, and has been treated at length by his biographer. A brief summary of the dispute, and the occasions that lead to it, is perhaps necessary, since it was partly owing to this unpleasantness that both of the parties to it resigned their posts, and left Canada almost at the same time. Neither conceived himself properly treated by the home government, but Dorchester's attitude was indifferent, and his views slightly contemptuous. Whether right or wrong they were based on the long experience of an elderly and well-tried public servant, who had no fear for his reputation, and was in any case weary of office and anxious for home and rest. Simcoe's feelings, on the other hand, were tinged with the disappointment and soreness of a man still full of work and in mid career. Dorchester had always been an advocate for a clearly defined amount of central authority. He considered that the American colonies had grown into the condition that encouraged rebellion by the careless manner in which they had been allowed to drift. The fact that when rebellion came this very aloofness proved their chief stumbling-block was not to the point.

Dorchester's mind travelled back rather to the origin of things, and in the matter of defence against foreign aggression his experience in the Seven Years' War was wholly in favour of his argument.

Simcoe found himself in a remote wilderness of a most promising nature. He was not hampered by the race question. His people were energetic and mostly loyal Britons. He himself was of a practical turn of mind, and took an immense and praiseworthy interest in the material beginnings of what was obviously destined to be a great province. He was a voluminous despatch writer, and inclined to forget in certain matters that Dorchester was his chief. Two or three Indian appointments were made, not merely without consulting the latter but with some attempt to sustain them in the face of his objections, and Dorchester was an extremely punctilious person, exacting in the support of his theories of a limited but firm centralization. He had never fallen out with lieutenant-governors in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, but there was marked friction in Simcoe's case, though it was purely personal between the two men; nor were the causes of disagreement of a nature, as it so happened, to create material mischief. Simcoe thought a military post was the best nucleus for an industrial centre. Dorchester thought otherwise; nor could any one nowadays with the light of a continent's development to guide him hesitate as to which was right. Simcoe wanted

to create a capital and centre for the western district of modern Ontario on the spot where London now stands. Dorchester favoured York (now Toronto), and insisted upon it. Simcoe thought the latter should be made the naval base of Lake Ontario; Dorchester considered Kingston as at that time the best point. It would be purposeless here to argue in favour of the foresight of one or the other. It is difficult for us nowadays to appreciate the arguments that would have operated in 1794 and 1795 with either of them. But a more immediate cause for friction lay in the question as to whether the larger force of troops was required in Upper or Lower Canada. Simcoe, in short, asked for more men and Dorchester would not spare them. They were a pitiful handful in all, some two thousand three hundred, to wrangle about. At one time Upper Canada was the most threatened point, but then at a desperate moment, like the one in question, Quebec was the key of Canada. So long as she remained unconquered the colony was not lost. This was a recognized axiom in North America and no one had better cause to know it and hold it than Dorchester. Simcoe though he had done gallant service in the Revolutionary War as colonel of the New York Loyalist regiment, the Queen's Rangers, had not been at quite such close quarters with the Quebec theory. But apart from these general arguments, at the moment when Simcoe was most sore about the refusal of men from Dorchester's

slender stock, the danger from the Americans, which had seemed to lie on the lakes, was being greatly lessened by the attitude of Jay in London, unknown to Simcoe, while the danger from France was somewhat growing on account of the schemes she was concocting with that volatile factor, the state of Vermont, of which a few words later.

When the treaty with America was ratified, Dorchester's intention, as he wrote to Simcoe, was to bring down most of the troops to Lower Canada, the danger in the west being at an end, while the French danger in the east was growing, for reasons already given. But Simcoe with his pet theories of developing material prosperity by military posts, seems to have lost sight of the danger of foreign invasion in the more exposed parts of the colony. He had corresponded directly and voluminously with Dundas and somewhat overlooked Dorchester, to whose conspicuous personality, years, and long service in North America, was due perhaps something more than perfunctory official recognition. In November, 1795, Dorchester wrote to Portland that the enclosures turned on the question whether he was to receive orders from Simcoe or Simcoe from him, and that the latter must have had expectations of an independent command in the upper country and even beyond. The situation of Nova Scotia and its dependencies did not permit Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth to extend his control to Quebec, and according to Dundas's letter regarding Simcoe this

independence of his command was established. "All command, civil and military, being thus disorganized and without remedy, your Grace will, I hope, excuse an anxiety for the arrival of my successor, who may have authority sufficient to restore order, lest these insubordinations should extend to mutiny among the troops and sedition among the people." This is plain speaking enough. Dorchester, who had already taken umbrage at the reproof in the matter of the Miamis, felt that this tendency to ignore the central authority made it impossible for him any longer to retain office as governor and commander-in-chief in North America. It will be remembered, too, that he had been against the division of the provinces, which were to be re-united in 1841, only to be separated again when the federal authority had been established over the whole of British North America.

But the misunderstandings that led to Dorchester's retirement are of slight consequence. It was thirty years since he had first entered upon his task. He was weary and he was getting old, and had vastly exceeded in length of service any other Canadian governor before his day or after it. He felt, no doubt, that he was getting out of date, or rather out of tune, with certain phases of administration, and wholly disapproved of them. But his work was done, and there was no special reason for extending still further an already quite exceptional length of responsible public service. The crisis with

America and the long strain, which his presence alone of living Englishmen had tempered on both sides of the Atlantic with some measure of relief, were over for the present. What might have followed had Jefferson been elected in 1797 one cannot guess, but his defeat by a solid vote of the Northern States showed unmistakably the sentiments of Canada's more immediate neighbours, sentiments which they never wholly abandoned, since the War of 1812 was resented by most of them, and was mainly the work of Jefferson's party and the South. There now remained only France to settle with, for Spain had proved innocuous as a source of strife between Great Britain and the States, the motives being conflicting, and the factor of sentiment as in the case of France being entirely absent; indeed, there seemed a fine quarrel brewing between France and the United States, as represented by the Federal party. The latter, soon to be committed to another period of power, had already begun to discover that thirteen states and an ungovernable West were a sufficiently restive team to handle, and had abandoned not merely the intention but even the desire to attach another partly hostile and generally uncongenial province by force of arms. They had come to the conclusion that Great Britain on the St. Lawrence was infinitely preferable to France, whose not unnatural schemes in that direction were looked upon with disapproval.

Vermont, however, had been always troublesome

and restless. The water route from Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence, her natural outlet as she regarded it, and soon to be improved by the canal that Vermonters had so much at heart, was a source of dispute which twisted her political sympathies this way and that, made her factious in her domestic, and unstable in her outside, relations. She was now a state. Her ostensible leaders, who had formerly been quite ready to play the part of Arnold towards the republic, were now the principal channels of French intrigue, and could they have done so would have dragged the neighbouring colonies into war with Britain, not, however, from political passion or from broad general principles such as are permissible to nations, however mistaken, but for mere purposes of local trade. The Southerners, who sported liberty caps and sang the "Marseillaise," to the edification of their own slaves, men who, to quote the words of an unknown historian, "could not have pronounced two French words correctly to save themselves from hanging," were inspired by ignorance and hatred of the mother country and a further hope of shuffling out of their debts to her people. The Vermonters, with Ira Allen at their head, were cool calculators. As the scheme of gaining their trade route by remaining British had failed, the alternative was to make Canada either French or American, and achieve their object in that way.

Adet, the French minister from the revolutionary government, was recalled soon after Dorchester had

left Quebec. His methods and his manners had not helped the cause of France with the American government. But what is more to the point, he had set his heart on regaining Canada for France. He had engaged the whole new consular service of his country in this task, and we have seen the trouble his emissaries had caused Dorchester during these last years of his government. Though the latter sailed in July, 1796, he retained his office till the following April, when Prescott, his successor, was appointed, and it was during this winter of his administration that Ira Allen sailed from Ostend in the *Olive Branch* with twenty thousand stand-of-arms, besides artillery and ammunition. The ship was captured and brought into Portsmouth. Allen professed that this prodigal supply of arms was for the militia of Vermont, which it would have provided four times over; but certain people who were behind the scenes assured the Duke of Portland that they were designed for the invasion of Canada. Vermont at that time had certainly no other use for such a prodigious armament.

It is perhaps needless to state that the Federal government had neither cognizance of, nor sympathy with, such adventures. Adet, it appears, had himself written some of the proclamations with which Canada was deluged during Dorchester's last two years of office. These were supported by canards regarding French victories on sea and land and the immediate approach of French fleets. At

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one time, the precise date at which the French troops would enter Canada had been injudiciously fixed. Though the ratification of Jay's Treaty removed these enterprises from the domain of such probability as they ever possessed, they produced a little crop of arrests in Prescott's first year and the dramatic hanging and quartering of a certain weak-minded McLane in the presence of the civil and military population of Quebec. A month after the expiration of Dorchester's government about forty French-Canadians were arrested, most of whom were convicted on light sentences. There were also attempts by French emissaries to stir up the Indians to an attack on Western Canada. A French agent, Jules de Fer, employed by Liston, the British minister at Philadelphia, a year later to sound the feelings of the French-Canadians, reported that there was a considerable sentiment in favour of being re-annexed to France, but that few would move unless success was quite assured by the landing of a large force. The emissaries of the directorate, whose ability for intrigue seems always to have far exceeded their judgment, reported to their government with characteristic exaggeration that the French-Canadians were burning to risk life and fortune in the cause. There is no evidence that any French-Canadians of education or influence felt anything but repugnance to a renewed connection with their mother country, as now remodelled.

It is melancholy that two such faithful, and in their different ways capable, administrators as Dorchester and Simcoe should have embittered each other's closing years of office. Most of their correspondence is very acrid. Simcoe thought the Indian department should be in his immediate hands and not in those of a superintendent. The absence of the latter, Sir John Johnson, in England, no doubt aggravated certain abuses, usually financial ones, that created constant scandals in a service which afforded enormous temptations to dishonesty. The conflicting views of the two men as to the founding of provincial capitals and harbours and the methods of settling a new country have been alluded to. Simcoe writes: "Stations for the king's troops judiciously selected is, in my opinion, the only basis on which towns will arise to the great benefit of the service." Dorchester replies: "The impolicy of placing so many troops out of the way, and the enormous abuses in the public expenditure for twenty years are not the only objections to this method of encouraging settlements. The principle itself is erroneous, as evinced by the improvements in provinces where no extraordinary expenses were incurred nor troops were employed for civil purposes." Simcoe poured out his grievances to Dundas and Portland, while Dorchester curtly intimated more than once, as we know, that if a divided authority was to be the method of government in British North America it was time he took himself off.

Dorchester had met his last parliament on November 20th, 1795, and it had continued sitting till May 7th. Among its duties was the alleviation of distress, owing to a bad harvest, and the governor laid an embargo on the exportation of wheat. The last occurrence during his long term of residence was the withdrawal of the British troops in June from the western forts, which were to be formally occupied by the Americans in August. Dorchester sailed for England on July 9th, the lieutenant-governor, Prescott, also in command of the military forces, remaining his representative till the spring of the following year, when he formally took his place as governor-in-chief. Addresses of affection, respect and regret were presented to the departing governor by the people both of Quebec and Montreal, coupled with expressions of devotion to the Crown and "the happy government under which it is our glory to live." The high example set by the private lives of himself and his family were gracefully alluded to. Dorchester knew now that he was leaving never to return, and his feelings of regret mingled with the yearning for peace and rest inevitable to his now abundant years and the strenuous fashion in which most of them had been spent.

Guy Carleton must be judged mainly by his works. He has left no private correspondence to help us, for his wife destroyed it all after his death, nor has the contemporary gossip of Quebec sent

down to us any very lucid pictures of the man in his hours of ease among friends or family. Happily his official correspondence, spread over sixteen busy years, reveals much of that side of his character which is most vital to the appreciation of a great proconsul. His jealousy for the honour of the British Crown and impatience of everything mean, dishonest or unjust that would cast a slur on it, was a leading note in his career. His kindness of heart was a byword, while his fair and liberal treatment of the king's new subjects, in accordance, as he thought, both with policy and justice, never wavered, though it often brought him temporary unpopularity with one side or the other. For this, however, or its opposite, Dorchester cared very little. Of strong personality and extreme independence of character, he was never swayed for a moment by what men might say or think of him; but his instincts were true and his heart was sound. Even those who suffered, as a rule justly, from the first never denied the second. Though distinctly a *grand seigneur* and with a reserved manner, his qualities of head and heart must have been all the greater to procure for him the large measure of affection and esteem with which he was generally regarded. And this reputation, it should be remembered, was steadily maintained through two long terms of eight years apiece, so widely sundered that they almost represented two different generations of Canadians. No cases of undeserved hardship or neglected merit seem to have been too insignificant

for Dorchester's attention, and when rebuke was required he cared little for the rank of the transgressor, as might be inferred from the candour of his communications even to secretaries of state.

Against jobbery, whether in the grasping of fees, or in that odious, and then too common, custom of foisting incompetent deputies on the colony while politicians at home shared the plunder, he waged incessant war. We have plenty of evidence that the Château St. Louis was, during Dorchester's tenancy, the centre of a graceful and dignified hospitality. He desired to be fair to the French-Canadians and thus frequently laid himself open to the accusation of a bias in favour of that nationality. But if he ever exceeded equity and prudence in this particular he was heavily punished by the ready surrender of the Canadian peasantry to the wiles of outside intrigue; for there is no doubt he felt it bitterly. He unquestionably modified his earlier views of the British trading community, probably from the fact that as time went on they justified his better opinion. They, no doubt, themselves acquired greater discretion and gradually absorbed from outside a better and wiser element. Above all, the trials of 1775-6 divided the sheep from the goats, and inclined a better feeling between the educated English and French who shared a common peril and fought side by side against a common enemy. It had been Dorchester's lot to govern Canada through periods of

great political stress and in some moments of extraordinary peril. That he saved her to Great Britain in those years would alone entitle him to the perpetual gratitude of Canada and of the empire. But this achievement, conspicuous though it was, is very far from comprising the whole debt under which he has laid posterity. It was but a crowning incident in many years' record of less showy but valuable service. Mistakes he doubtless made, though it is not easy to put one's finger on them, amid the personal feelings and faction which distinguish that little nucleus of a coming nation over which he ruled and which fifty years later Lord Durham still called, "Two nations warring within a single state." Dorchester, however, had to face the further disadvantage that these domestic distractions were carried on under the very guns, either active or threatening, of two powerful enemies.

The frigate *Active*, which carried Dorchester and his family from Quebec, was wrecked on the Island of Anticosti, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Happily no lives were lost, and the party were conveyed by coasting vessels to Percé on the Gaspé shore. A ship was sent for them from Halifax, and they sailed direct for England, arriving at the end of September. Dorchester retained his governorship for six months longer, when Prescott succeeded him in the titular honours of office as he had already done in its actual duties. Dorchester was now seventy-two, and spent the remaining twelve years

of life left to him in rural retirement, first at Kempshot, near Basingstoke, and later at Stubbings, near Maidenhead, where he died suddenly on November 10th, 1808. These years, as may be imagined, were quite uneventful ones. Dorchester left a numerous family, and his title descended in the male line till 1897, when it became extinct. It was revived, however, in the person of the present Baroness Dorchester, a cousin of the last lord and descendant of the governor, and passes to her son, Dudley Massey Carleton. There are a great number of living descendants of the famous governor, and among these, it may be interesting to note, are several groups of a family directly descended from him, and well known to the writer, long settled in Virginia.

Stubbings, where Dorchester died, had been his first purchase. He bought Greywell Hill, near Winchfield, in Hampshire, which is now the chief home of the family, from the trustees of Lord Northington. Lastly, he bought Kempshot, near Basingstoke, where he himself chiefly lived, as has been stated, an uneventful life, interesting himself much in the breeding of horses, of which he had always been fond. Among other distinguished guests who occasionally visited him in his country home was the Prince Regent.

Six of Dorchester's sons died from wounds or disease on active service. The death of the eldest in 1786 was both singular and sad. Dorchester was actually on the sea, bound for his second term of

office in Canada, when the youth landed at Plymouth on sick leave from the continent. Those were queer times, and though heir to a barony as he was, this young British officer seems to have been so friendless and hard put to it for clothes that he was nearly hanged as a French spy. However, he contrived to reach London, and being at once taken ill again with camp fever seems to have been quite stranded in the great city. The only person whose name he could think of was Mr. Pitt, and he applied to that minister, who secured him quarters in Westminster, where he died.

A picture of the siege of Bergen op Zoom, where Carleton, it will be remembered, was wounded, hangs in the dining-room at Greywell Hill. By a remarkable coincidence another son of Carleton's met his death there carrying the same sword with which his father had so distinguished himself on the former occasion. Among the other treasures here is the wooden bedstead with curtains which the general used in Canada and on all his campaigns, and on which he died. As it is scarcely more than five feet long, and was curtained all around, it is assumed that the owner, a tall man, must have habitually rested in a doubled-up position. There is also preserved a handsome carved horn, presented by the Western Indians to the governor while in Canada.

Lady Dorchester lived to a great age, and plenty of people not long dead remembered her perfectly. Though a small woman she was awe-inspiring to a

degree in the extraordinary ceremony she observed and exacted, and the hauteur of her bearing, her own family being included in this attitude. When visiting her son-in-law, Lord Bolton, of Hackwood, so an eye-witness used to relate to present members of the family, her entry to the dining-room at meal hours was a prodigiously solemn affair and never occurred till all the family and guests were assembled. Her hair at this time, 1830, was lifted high up with lace and scarlet ribbons, her dress costly and elaborate. She wore scarlet shoes with very high heels and gold buttons, and carried in her hand an ebony cane. On entering she would bow graciously to the assembled company, and no one thought of sitting down till she herself was seated. Such was the lady who some fifty-five years before had come almost as a bride to preside at the Château St. Louis, Quebec.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

A

The English-speaking traders were invited to Canada by the army leaders. Though they came from the American colonies, only a very small number of them were born there. This mercantile minority received less than justice then, and has received little more since. Murray and Carleton were strongly prejudiced against them, and their opinion has been uncritically accepted by later writers. Many of them were excellent citizens. Only some were truculent. This was due not solely to native perversity but also to the treatment which they received at the hands of the authorities in the colony.

B

All the seigniors were not members of the *noblesse*, and social distinctions in Canada never approximated conditions in old France. See W. B. Munro, "the Seigniorial System in Canada," Longmans, 1907.

C

Amherst's reply to the demand for a continuance of French law was that the Canadians became subjects of the king. This was not a denial, but only a shelving of the question.

D

William Gregory was the chief justice. After his dismissal he practised at the Canadian bar. The attorney-general was George Suckling, who came from Nova Scotia where he had been a member of the Assembly. He knew a

lot of law, but little of human nature. For an illustration of his pedantry, see "Canadian Historical Review," vol., 3 p. 253.

E

The one French Canadian in Murray's council was François Mounier, a Protestant who had come from France just before the fall of Canada. A Roman Catholic could not take the oaths required of a councillor until the Quebec Act was passed.

F

Murray's ordinance of September 17th, 1764, establishing civil courts, waived the religious disqualifications of English law on only two points. Canadian lawyers were admitted to plead in the court of common pleas, and juries were thrown open.

G

Murray was recalled to answer a swarm of complaints from Canada, many of which were backed up by London merchants. His explanatory letters were always slower in reaching the board of trade than were the accusations of his enemies, and he was suspected as a creature of the Earl of Bute. He was finally cleared of all charges by an order-in-council of April 13th, 1767.

H

This version of the remonstrance incident is based solely on Carleton's statement, which was very wide from the truth. Carleton called together a truncated council and with it reversed the decision of a previous full council. The aggrieved councillors drew up such a mild remonstrance that Carleton was able to misrepresent it to the home government. Carleton tried vainly to squirm out of the

awkward position in which he found himself as a result of his illegal action. Having turned the majority of his council against himself, Carleton dared not meet it until he found an opportunity for cutting off the heads of the opposition by dismissing Irving and Mabane, thereby reducing the rest to submission. Throughout the whole incident, he consistently deceived the home government. "Canadian Historical Review," vol. 4, p. 321, A. L. Burt, Sir Guy Carleton and his First Council."

I

Carleton did not object to this action of Irving and Mabane at the time. His objection arose some days later when he discovered in the incident a plausible excuse for dismissing them from the council. See article quoted in note "H" *supra.*

J

These changes in the judicial system were effected by two ordinances published before Carleton's arrival and with which he had nothing to do. That of July 1st, 1766, which had been prepared by the home government, re-enacted the admission of Canadians to all juries, to remove a prevailing doubt, and enacted that suits between Canadians should be tried by Canadian juries, suits between British-born by British-born juries, and suits between Canadians and British-born by mixed juries. A third term was added by the ordinance of July 26th, 1766.

K

Murray issued no proclamation in 1762, but if he had it would not have applied to Three Rivers or Montreal, for at that time he was only military governor of the Quebec district.

The whole legal system of Canada rested on insecure

foundations for the following reasons. (1) The royal proclamation of October 7th, 1763, was so vaguely worded that it produced grave differences of opinion over its interpretation. Did it sweep away all French law or only part of it, and if the latter what part? (2) This proclamation promised an assembly and Murray's commission, of subsequent date, empowered him to legislate with the assistance of a council and assembly. But all legislation in Canada down to the Quebec Act was by governor and council without an assembly. The only authority for this was in Murray's instructions. Hence arose two serious doubts, whether the king alone could delegate legislative authority to the governor after he had promised an assembly, and even if he could do this whether the instructions conferred any power not expressly granted by the commission which preceded it. Thus the English-speaking merchants in Canada could say that "the ordinances are not worth a farthing," which of course included the ordinance establishing the courts of justice and all their judgments.

L

Cramahé's lieutenant-governorship of Three Rivers was only nominal. On the establishment of civil government, August 10th, 1764, the military governors, Burton and Haldimand, were offered appointments as lieutenant-governors of Montreal and Three Rivers respectively. They refused and Murray nominated Irving and Cramahé in their stead. But these offices amounted to nothing and almost immediately disappeared.

M

The alternative of leaving the West "under temporary administration" had already been tried and found wanting, 1763-1774. There were several good reasons for extending the colony to include the country north of the Ohio, which

was the meaning of the boundaries set forth in the Quebec Act. That country, set aside as an Indian reserve in 1763, was to have received a special government. As the plans for this never matured, the problem of preserving law and order in this territory remained unsolved. Indeed it was more acute in 1774 than it had been in 1763 because of the increasing activity of the fur traders. The simplest way to give this territory a government was to annex it to a territory that already had a government. Canada was the natural choice. The few settlers in this territory were French from Canada. The fur trade, its only economic interest, was focused at Montreal, and for this reason both the English and the French in Canada desired its annexation. Geography also suggested this solution, for in those days when waterways were the chief means of communication this territory was much more accessible from Canada than from any other colony. Moreover the native problem could be more effectively handled through the Canadian governor than through any other, who would be hampered by an assembly. Finally, had none of these causes existed, the mother country could hardly have been expected to give the keeping of this great land to any of the colonies on the brink of revolution.

N

Carleton violently warped the Quebec Act, giving it a meaning very different from that intended by the home government. The latter desired to give every just satisfaction to the English minority as well as to the French majority. Broadly speaking, trade was in the hands of the English, while real property was in the hands of the French. Though establishing French civil law for the sake of the French land-owners, the act was not designed to rob the English of the advantages of English civil law for their commerce. Indeed, trial by jury for civil matters was

agreed to as part of the act by Lord Chancellor Apsley, until he recalled an incident in the autumn of 1766 when a Quebec jury returned a verdict that undermined the revenue. Articles 12 and 13 of Carleton's instructions clearly reveal the purpose of the home government to satisfy the English mercantile minority by granting the right of habeas corpus, trial by jury for civil cases and English commercial law. The governor and council were to pass ordinances to this effect. Carleton, however, defeated this purpose by secreting these instructions and by concealing his disobedience from the home government. This wrought a grave injustice to the English minority without conferring any benefit upon the French majority. The law of Canada before the conquest was the custom of Paris and this contained no commercial law. There was little need for the latter until the conquest established commercial freedom. The consequent commercial development was the work of the English-speaking merchants who enjoyed English commercial law until the passing of the act. Thus Carleton robbed them of the body of the law which had regulated their business and imposed in its stead a body of law which they neither wanted nor understood, which had been little if ever used in the French period, and in which the French now were little interested because they did not possess ten per cent of the business of the colony. Carleton seems to have been actuated by blind prejudice. "Canadian Historical Review," vol. 1, p. 166, William Smith, "The Struggle over the Laws of Canada, 1763-1783."

O

By robbing the English minority of their commercial laws (see note "N" *supra*), Carleton left them with the impression that the British government had deserted them. Had it not been for this, there would have been less sedition amongst the English minority, and the door to American

agitators would have been less widely opened. Thus Carleton was responsible for augmenting the danger in the impending crisis.

P

On September 21st, 1776, Carleton ordered Cramahé to quarter "all the recruits and drafts for the British regiments in the mutinous parishes on the north side of the river and let the officers remain with them to take care of them." (B. 39, p.177).

Q

On closer examination, this incident "of a staff appointment" reveals Carleton in a less favourable light. The "new arrival" was not Germain's appointee, but Carleton's. He was the latter's own brother, Major Thomas Carleton, who came to the country for the purpose of accepting the appointment. Germain's "protégé' was an "old timer" and had the further advantage of superior rank, Lieutenant-Colonel Gabriel Christie. The office in dispute was that of quartermaster-general. Carleton filled it under the authority of a letter from the under secretary, Sept. 8th, 1775, before Germain was appointed secretary of state. Germain seems to have been innocent of this arrangement. He cancelled the appointemnt of Christie as soon as he received Carleton's remonstrance. (Q.11, p. 217; Q.12, pp. 62, 90, 105ff.)

R

Howe was informed of Burgoyne's plan of campaign but was left to form his own plans. (See Egerton, "The American Revolution," pp. 120, 121.) On June 10th, 1777, Carleton forwarded to Burgoyne a letter from Howe, New York, April 5th, in which the latter not only stated that he expected to be in Pennsylvania but also offered general advice upon the course Burgoyne should follow. (Q. 13,

pp. 237, 240). Too much reliance was placed upon expected aid from loyalists along Burgoyne's line of march and upon Burgoyne's capacity in an emergency.

S

The quotation about Germain's nominees, Livius and Owen, turning out two judges at Montreal is mistaken. Carleton could never accuse Germain of this for Livius and Owen were Dartmouth's nominees. The next quotation does not allude to Livius but to Southouse. (Q. 14, p. 267. In the "Canadian Historical Review," vol. 5, p. 198, n. 4, it is erroneously stated that the reference was to Owen). Livius did not supplant Grant. The latter was never on the bench in Canada. He was acting attorney-general for a short while until James Monk was appointed to the office. The displaced Montreal judge to whom Carleton referred was John Fraser, and Carleton himself was partly responsible for Fraser's predicament. The picture of Livius in the quotation is quite unreliable. It was drawn by Carleton after Livius had caught him in wrongdoing, after he had dismissed Livius in a high-handed manner and was trying to justify himself against his accuser and victim. See *infra* note "T" and footnote, p. 188.

T

An examination of Carleton's correspondence with Germain over civil appointments does not reflect discredit upon Germain. In his first letter to Germain on civil matters, August 10th, 1776, (Q. 12, p. 119) Carleton criticised a number of appointments made by Germain's predecessor, Lord Dartmouth. Owen had arrived in the fall of 1775 with a commission as judge of Detroit, but Carleton, attracted by his quality, had appointed him to the bench at Montreal in the place of John Fraser then a prisoner in the revolted colonies. A certain Mr. Gordon had arrived

at the same time, bringing a mandamus to be clerk of the crown and pleas, which Carleton now pointed out included five distinct offices some of which were incompatible and were moreover already filled satisfactorily. Livius had also arrived in the previous autumn with a commission of vice-admiralty and a mandamus to be judge of the common pleas at Montreal. Carleton now complained that his own nominee as surrogate of the vice-admiralty court was thus displaced and that Livius turned out one of the Montreal judges. As a matter of fact, Livius replaced Marteilhe on the Montreal bench, and Marteilhe was already permanently incapacitated by illness. (Q. 14, p. 265) Carleton also denounced fees.

Germain replied, March 26th, 1777, (Q. 13, p. 90) to only two points in this letter. Having learned indirectly that Carleton had objected to Gordon's warrant as incomplete, he had compared the establishment agreed to while Carleton was in England and found that Gordon's office corresponded with it, had consulted Dartmouth out of courtesy, and finally had sent out a new corrected warrant. He continued that he would never have agreed to the appointment had he been aware that this one office had branched out into so many. Though he did not say it, Germain implied that all would have been well if Carleton had reported directly upon his refusal to admit Gordon and his reasons for so doing. The second point was fees. Germain denied that there had been an agreement at the time of the Quebec Act to exclude fees from the courts, for that would have slowed up the course of justice.

The only appointments made by Germain were notified to Carleton in a letter of August 22nd, 1776. (Q. 12, p. 92) Chief Justice Hey, refusing to return, was succeeded by Livius. Southouse, who had just been appointed attorney-general upon the death of Kneller, was promoted to take the place Livius was vacating, and James Monk, solicitor-

general for Nova Scotia, succeeded to Southouse. In the same letter, Carleton was informed that Owen's appointment to Detroit had been a mistake for Montreal and was now corrected.

In acknowledging this letter, May 23rd, 1777, (Q. 13, p. 160) Carleton said:—"I have only to observe thereon that Your Lordship has turned out of their employment two men of abilities and good character. Mr. Grant has acted as Attorney-General ever since Mr. Kneller left the Province; and Mr. Fraser, as Judge of the Common Pleas at Montreal, ever since the first establishment of the Civil Courts of Justice in 1764. These gentlemen have both exposed their lives more than once to oppose rebellion; Mr. Fraser, for the same cause, has suffered in his property, been personally insulted, and is still detained a prisoner by the rebels. The power I have not; I am at a loss to know, after the fate of these gentlemen, how I can even talk of rewarding those who have preserved their loyalty, without an appearance of mockery. Of this you may be assured, that such things will occasion no small exultation among the King's enemies."

This reply was certainly querulous. There was nothing to criticise in Livius' promotion. It and more had been promised by Germain's predecessor, and Livius was undoubtedly the best lawyer in the colony. Nor could Carleton object to Owen's nomination to the Montreal court,—he had already done it himself. There remained only the appointments of Southouse and Monk. It will be observed that they were made to fill vacancies created by action in London.

Germain replied, July 25th, 1777;—(Ibid., p. 182) "In all this no increase was made in the number of appointments from hence, and how it should happen, as you say it did, that I turned out of their employments two men of abilities and good characters, I am unable to comprehend. It

however gives me concern to find that two gentlemen, who have both exposed their lives and suffered in their fortunes, by opposing the rebellion, are disappointed in their expectations of reward from the crown: but as things are circumstanced I can only say that as you have now for the first time made me acquainted with their names and merits, I will not fail to take the first fit occasion of recommending them to His Majesty, for some mark of His royal favor."

Germain was right, and the only points which Carleton could make in his rambling reply of October 15th, 1777, (Q. 14, pp. 264) were that he had ordered Cramahé to recommend Grant as a successor to Kneller, and that Southouse did not know the French language or law. He even stated that Southouse turned out Fraser, apparently forgetting that he himself, more than a year previously, had put Owen in Fraser's place. He should have limited himself to denouncing Southouse's incompetence, for Southouse was a complete failure on the bench.

U

The appointment of the committee referred to was made not in the legislative council but in the council upon state business, the "privy council" which was no longer "privy," on November 6th, 1786. Four committees were then appointed to report on: (1) the courts of justice, (2) the militia, the highroads and communications; (3) population and agriculture; and (4) external and internal commerce and the regulation of the police. These committees were all appointed to collect the information necessary to guide the home government in resettling the constitution of the country.

V

The "fresh bill" was introduced by St. Ours before Smith's bill was lost. Some days later it ousted Smith's bill and

seemed about to carry. This threw the merchants into a panic, for the bill if it became law would have robbed them of two precious rights secured in 1785, English rules of evidence for the trial of commercial cases and optional juries for the trial of commercial cases and torts. The appearance of Monk, the attorney-general, on behalf of the merchants was quite regular. According to the custom of that time, he could practice privately when (*a*) the government was not interested and (*b*) he secured permission from the governor or lieutenant-governor. Both these officials had given their consent. Monk's speech on April 14th, 1787 was followed by a week of angry debates in the council, some demanding an investigation into the conduct of the judges, the others demanding that the investigation be into the behaviour of Monk. Dorchester did not "appoint a committee under Chief Justice Smith," because the members of the council were themselves implicated as members of the court of appeals. He commissioned the chief justice to conduct the investigation. This investigation by the chief justice should not be confused with the work of the committee on the courts of justice referred to above. That committee was composed of the chief justice and five other members of the council. It reported three months before Monk made the charges that gave rise to the chief justice's investigation. Monk was dismissed for his attack on the judges, but he was soon afterward reinstated.

W

Dorchester did not know whether the British government intended to keep these western posts or to abandon them. If they were to be retained, he urged that they be strengthened. If they were to be given up, he advised that they be destroyed rather than be handed over as they were. (Q. 27-1. p. 34, Dorchester to Sydney, Jan. 16th, 1787). If the Americans were to seize the posts, Dorchester was instructed

to recapture them if he could. Sydney regarded the Indians' friendship as most important for holding the posts, for protecting the fur trade, and for defending the colony. Therefore he increased the quantity of presents for the Indians and instructed Dorchester to supply them with such "ammunition as might enable them to defend themselves" against the Americans. (Ibid. p. 47; Q. 28, p. 30).

X

There were political reasons for settling the loyalists beyond the old seigniories. (See McIlwraith, "Haldimand," appendix "S") The loyalists in Canada did not receive their lands in freehold tenure. This was one of the reasons for the Constitutional Act.

The loyalists took little part in the agitation for an assembly, the centre of which was the mercantile interest of Montreal. The merchants of Quebec, though joining, were not so aggressive as those of Montreal.

Y

Dorchester was not invited home. On Feb. 8th, 1790, he requested leave to return for a few months on private affairs. On May 6th and again on June 5th, Grenville discouraged Dorchester's desire on the ground that he was needed in Canada. On August 4th, Grenville wrote permitting his return when the new lieutenant-governor, Clarke, had arrived,—but only on condition that circumstances would permit. This reached Dorchester in the middle of October. As it was too late to return that season, Dorchester said that he would come in the spring.

Z

The territorial revenues and the duties collected under the Quebec Revenue Act were not at the disposal of the

assembly. It could claim control only over the revenue raised by the authority of the local legislature. The first revenue act which it passed was in 1793 and produced only £905 during the ensuing year. Upon securing the approval of the home government, Dorchester inaugurated the practice of submitting for the information of the assembly a complete statement of revenue and expenditure. The assembly made no effort to secure control of public finance for more than ten years after Dorchester departed. "Canada and its Provinces," vol. 4, pp. 491-518, Duncan McArthur, "History of Public Finance, 1763-1840."

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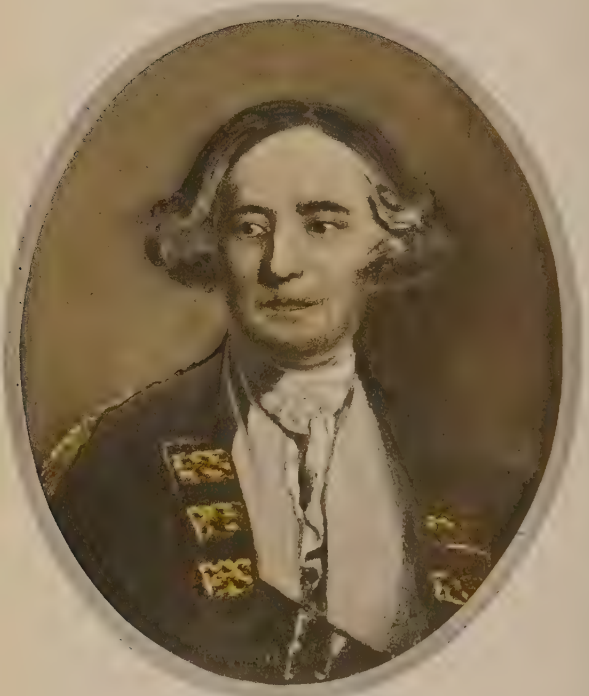
SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND

"What was he then? Whence, how? And what did he achieve and suffer in the World?"—*Carlyle.*



SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND

From an original painting

THE MAKERS OF CANADA SERIES

Anniversary Edition

SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND

BY

JEAN N. McILWRAITH

Illustrated under the direction of A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., Litt.D.
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CHAPTER I

A SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

ONE hundred and ten years ago there died in Switzerland a gentleman who had been born there some seventy odd years before, and who had come back to end a life more varied and eventful than most, within sight of the lakes and mountains of his native land. This was Sir Frederick Haldimand, sometime lieutenant-colonel in the Royal American regiment, military governor of Three Rivers, commander of the southern district in North America, commander-in-chief at New York, and governor-general of Canada.

To have an ancestor with the prefix *Honnête* to his name is no mean distinction, for the soubriquets "prudent," "learned," "magnificent," "very honourable," "generous," "much feared," etc., so plentifully besprinkled throughout European nomenclature of the eighteenth century had generally some foundation in fact. That Frederick Haldimand's grandfather should be known as "straightforward" bespeaks for himself a patient hearing. He may be prolix, he will never be untrue.

There is a tradition that the family was originally French Huguenot, driven into Switzerland by religious persecution; but of certainty it is known

only that Honnête Gaspard Haldimand migrated from Thun, and on April 1st, 1671, took up his abode at Yverdun, a tiny town directly north of Lausanne, at the southwestern corner of Lake Neuchâtel. He was charged fifteen florins a year merely as resident, and not at once admitted to the full dignity of citizenship. Swiss communities then, as now, did not bestow their municipal privileges excepting upon those able to pay for them, with the further requirement that applicants be of good character. After a residence of twenty-three years, Honnête Gaspard having demonstrated his right to his name, paid down two thousand florins and wine, was received as a citizen, and his descendants inherited the distinction without question, wherever they might live or die.

He had four sons, François-Lois, the father of our Sir Frederick, Barthélemi, Jean-Lois and Gaspard, junior. We may say adieu to Frederick's uncles, as he did himself at an early age, remarking only that Lieutenant Barthélemi was a bachelor and a philanthropic fighting Calvinist, while Sieur Gaspard travelled in foreign lands and was a person of importance, or his lady wife would not have been given "the pew which she desired in the church near the clock tower, in which to sit with her daughters."

To François-Lois Haldimand and Marie Madelaine de Trytorrens, his wife, there were born four sons, Emmanuel, Frederick, Jean-Abraham, Fran-

çois-Louis, and one daughter, Justine. Frederick was born on August 11th, 1718, in the Canton of Neuchâtel, and by the time he was ten years old, his father, a notary, was justice of the peace in Yverdun, and continued in that position till 1737.

Vaud in the eighteenth century was not an independent canton, but subject to Berne and the Vaudois gentry, and thus shut out from the civil service, cultivated science, art and literature. Lausanne became a centre for savants, a peaceful cosmopolitan resort where men like Gibbon, Fox, Raynal and Voltaire, inspired by the glorious scenery, could evolve ideas destined to move the world.

Yverdun was but a small place of two thousand inhabitants and about three hundred houses, but its upper classes exhibited the culture, hospitality and refined manners characteristic of the canton, and doubtless many distinguished foreigners found their way there in Frederick's boyhood. The French language and French fashions prevailed, but he had no love for the French nation, and was never found fighting under its banner. Neuchâtel, his native canton, had been forced to place herself beneath the protection of Prussia as a defence against the encroachment of Louis XIV., and the early antagonism thus instilled may have been one reason that Frederick was drawn into the army of his royal namesake.

The Haldimand family must have been of good standing or the youth could not have obtained

a commission in any European army. There would be no other career open to him at that time and in that country, unless he chose to follow the example of his cousin Samuel, Jean-Lois' son, a student at Leyden, who died in Paris while on his way home from the university. But Frederick preferred an active life. With an elder brother to leave at home, why should he not launch out upon the unknown? He must have had the early education and training of a gentleman, for such is not to be gained in camps, though frequently forgotten there.

Is it an ignoble thing to embrace the military profession from any other motive than love of one's own country? The Swiss and the Scotch Highlanders, rivals in patriotism, have not thought so. Kilted regiments of the British army have left their mark upon every quarter of the globe, while Swiss mercenaries in the eighteenth century formed a vital auxiliary to almost every army in Europe.

Switzerland showed wisdom in permitting and encouraging her sons to take service with her powerful neighbours, and thus gain military experience at their expense. There she was, hemmed in on one side by France, on the other by Austria, with Sardinia on the south, and on her northern borders those restless German states, not yet dreaming of consolidation into an empire. The central parts of Europe were being moved about like chessmen in the hands of royal players. Who could tell when Switzerland's turn for dismemberment

would come? When it should arrive she could recall her wandering soldiers to her standard, not rustics from the plough, but veterans, trained by the best masters of the time.

Frederick Haldimand was fifteen years of age when, after comparative tranquillity for a generation, the continent began to seethe with the wars that continued throughout his life, the peace of 1748 being only a truce. There is no evidence to show in what military service he first engaged, but it is generally supposed he entered as a cadet into the army of Charles Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, whose Italian possessions lay directly to the south of Switzerland. Like his fellow-countryman and life-long friend, Henry Bouquet, it is possible he enlisted with the States General of Holland, and passed thence into the Sardinian service.

"An adventurous, fighting kind of man," Carlyle calls Charles Emmanuel, but he was also a man of ability, and successfully directed the operations of the fine army left him by his father, bringing it into a further state of efficiency, and turning its face this way or that, according as Sardinian interests dictated. In the war of the Polish succession, he began by siding with the Bourbons against Austria, but when he feared Spain was growing too powerful in Italy and he was likely to be left at her mercy and that of France, he adroitly turned his back on his allies and joined Maria Theresa in her fight for her kingdom. The "door-keeper of the

Alps," he was called, and who more fitted to serve under him than Swiss mountaineers?

Henry Bouquet was a year younger than Frederick Haldimand, and they would likely be lads of seventeen and eighteen when they began their military career; the latter mentions that he was an officer at twenty-one. Henry went from Sardinia back to Holland, but his friend is next heard of in the army of Frederick the Great. Young Haldimand was present at the battle of Mollwitz in 1741, an eye witness to the terrific onslaught of thirty squadrons of Austrian horse upon Frederick's ten, and of the resulting panic and retreat of the Prussian right wing. He would see the day, that was seemingly lost, won for the king of Prussia by the infantry his father had trained for him, standing like a stone wall to receive the Austrian fire, and the "bottled whirlwind" of their cavalry charge, giving back five shots for one.

Subalterns are not prone to enter deeply into the right or wrong of the struggles in which they engage, and Haldimand would not be likely to criticize the ethics of Frederick's Silesian campaign; but he had a great admiration for him, both as monarch and man, and to the end of his life spoke affectionately of the king of Prussia as "my old master." He may have been with him from his accession till the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which time Prussia had emerged from obscurity into the position of a first-class power whose army

was looked upon as the best fighting machine in Europe. Sardinia too had lost nothing but gained much during her protracted contest, and from both his royal teachers the young soldier would learn that the end often justifies the means and that an amiable despot is an altogether admirable sort of ruler.

His early manhood fell upon a time when old things were rapidly passing away and all things were becoming new. The voice of the people, then beginning to be heard, was to grow in volume and fierceness till it became the wild scream of the French revolution. Kings were turned reformers and for their chief support they looked past the aristocratic classes to the army, and the army was drawn from the masses. While Frederick the Great was adding Silesia to his domains, Holland was having internal troubles which terminated in 1747 with a revolution that overthrew the aristocratic party and placed William of Orange at the head of affairs. The new Stadtholder never rested till he had secured the succession to his son; and with the view of protecting himself from the republicans, should occasion arise, he incorporated a regiment of Swiss Guards.

"Why Swiss, instead of your own nationality?" we may ask of the Prince of Orange, as of King Louis in the French revolution. The answer comes from the mercenaries who defended the Tuileries in 1792, and after the escape of their royal master

were massacred to a man:—"We are Swiss, and the Swiss never surrender their arms but with their lives."[1]

Steadfast, trustworthy, not to be caught on the wave of any sudden revolution, small blame to the Stadtholder, with uneasy seat on his throne, who wanted Swiss guards at the Hague. This was the corps in which both Haldimand and Bouquet were registered in 1750, as captains commandant, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and they may have joined at its formation, two years before.

A change it would be from the stirring marches and counter marches with the Great Frederick, from the high countries to the low; and Haldimand was a nature-lover. Did he ever tire of the flat fields, the canals and windmills of Holland and sigh for his mountains, or did he lead the ordinary life of a gay young officer at the Dutch court? Who shall tell us? Certainly not Bouquet, up to his eyes in the study of mathematics and all that pertained to the science of warfare. What Henry is

[1] Haldimand's diary, May 29th, 1790:—"Met Sir Henry Clinton with whom I took a walk. He told me that the Duke of Gloucester was much inclined that England should take Swiss troops into its service. I showed him the inconvenience which would arise from the capitulation of Swiss troops, which he did not know, etc."

May 16th, 1787. "The Count de Linden . . . . wished to convince me that Duke Louis was an enemy to the Swiss and wanted to persuade the members of the republic to dismiss them in order to take German troops in their place as they would be cheaper, but that the Dutch had too much confidence in the Swiss to give in to these ideas, which would fill Holland with German princes and counts."

known to have done, it is probable his friend Frederick did also, and neither would be likely to lose any opportunity for adding to his professional knowledge.

Just before the beginning of the Seven Years' war, when England was preparing for her final struggle with the Bourbons for colonial and commercial supremacy, the attention of her ministers was directed to the number of Swiss and German Protestants who had taken up lands in her colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland. They had not mixed with their neighbours, nor even learned the English language, but numbered many strong, hardy young fellows, admirably adapted by hereditary feeling for fighting the French. A fine regiment they would make, and though the colonel must be a natural born subject of Great Britain, the subordinate officers should be foreign Protestants of tried metal, familiar with the German language.

The Duke of Cumberland was interested in the scheme, and to him his former aide-de-camp, Sir Joseph Yorke, then British minister at the Hague, recommended as the best men he knew for commands in the new Royal American regiment, Lieutenant-Colonels Frederick Haldimand and Henry Bouquet. The two hesitated about accepting the offered positions, as the colonel under whom they were asked to serve in America held lower rank than their own in Europe, but the representations

of Sir Joseph Yorke, that they would be placed on an equality with the colonel commandant, carried the day.

In 1754, the two Swiss soldiers of fortune were transferred from the service of the Prince of Orange to that of his father-in-law and ally, George the Second. They induced subordinate officers to accompany them and set sail for America, buoyed up by the hope of getting once more into active service after the stagnation at the Hague, and of seeing for themselves that wonderland of the west, full of possibilities for active and ambitious men.

CHAPTER II

WITH THE ROYAL AMERICANS

IT is recorded that upon June 15th, 1756, there were forty German officers landed at New York to take commissions in Lord Loudoun's regiment of Royal Americans, which it was proposed should number 4,000 men, divided into four battalions. Colonel Haldimand's command was at Philadelphia, a town already showing symptoms of the spirit which was to reach its height a score of years later. The colony of Pennsylvania was nearer than her neighbours to independence, disposing of her public monies as she saw fit, grudging the support of her royal governor, and refusing to establish militia or to vote funds for the proper maintenance of frontier garrisons. Loudoun's letter to Pitt is ominous: "The majority of the assembly is composed of Quakers; whilst that is the case they will always oppose every measure of government, and support that independence which is deep-rooted everywhere in this country. The taxes which the people pay are really so trifling that they do not deserve the name; so that if some method is not found by laying on a tax for the support of a war in America by a British act of parliament, it appears to me that you will continue to have

no assistance from them in money, and will have little in men if they are wanted."

A marvellous sect these "*trembleurs*" must have seemed to our soldiers of fortune. Monks shut up in a monastery they could understand, but not men who could go about their daily business, declining to take up arms for the government which sheltered their homes, and refusing to provide a shelter for those who were hired to do the duty for them. It was a herculean task to recruit for the Royal American, or any regiment in which the soldiers were regarded as no better than negroes, and their officers treated as fair game for extortion. Lord Loudoun did not mend matters by demanding with a high hand winter quarters for the troops, and to his subordinates fell the disagreeable task of securing them.

It was Haldimand's first experience of a people who dared to object to anything a military commander should propose to do. Bouquet wrote that he would rather make two campaigns than quarter his soldiers in any of the American towns, but what else could be done when the assemblies refused to build barracks for them or to pay for their keep? The chief cause of ill feeling between the inhabitants and the British troops was the order which the military had received to keep settlers off the lands secured to the Indians by the Treaty of 1763.

Pennsylvania's foreigners not being numerous enough to complete the muster roll of the Royal

Americans, Haldimand was ordered to Albany in September to continue his recruiting, and thence to Georgia and the Carolinas on the same errand. Bouquet was meanwhile in command at Charleston, having his own troubles with the assembly, which had decreed that no soldier should ever be billeted among the people. The governor's veto had no effect, and only the good temper and tact of the colonel prevented the whole province from rising in revolt.

The country had not yet recovered from the panic of Braddock's defeat, and the assembly of Pennsylvania was moved to the point of voting £50,000 for military purposes. It was all needed, as the failure to take Fort Duquesne from the French had emboldened their Indian allies in harassing the British, and the protection of the frontiers from their raids was the first duty the regiment of Royal Americans was called upon to perform. Haldimand's work lay in Pennsylvania, Bouquet's in Carolina. The size of these colonies bordering on the Atlantic and stretching out into No Man's Land would make the European countries they had left appear insignificant in size, and how to protect an ill-defined frontier with an insufficient number of troops, and a sparse population from which to recruit, was the problem that engaged their attention.

Of the progress made by Haldimand and his second battalion there is little evidence, but the

letter-book of Colonel Bouquet throws many side lights upon the state of affairs at the time. Principally has he to complain of the ill will shown to his men by private citizens, whose "genteel proceedings" have cured him of any inclination towards falling in love with South Carolina. Half the soldiers lost through sickness and desertion would have been saved had the inhabitants taken them in, which he thinks they could have done with little trouble. The assembly voted £1,000 for barracks for 1,000 men, but would give nothing towards bedding, and they charged duty on provisions for troops that were there solely for the defence of the province. In one of Bouquet's letters there is a request that his correspondent will "tell the people living near Loudoun who refused to help the sick soldiers at a time when they themselves were in want of protection from those very troops they have so inhumanly used, that if they want assistance they shall be the last of His Majesty's servants to receive it, as they have made themselves unworthy of any favours by acting more like savages than Christians."

To Governor Ellis he writes on December 10th, 1757, that he has had enough of America and if he could once get away from it nothing would induce him to return. But he had already taken stakes in the country and must have felt more at home in it than Haldimand, through his better knowledge of English. All Bouquet's letters are written in that

language, while those of his friend, until he employs a secretary, are in French, and his superior officer uses the same in writing to him, for a considerable time, so that Haldimand could not have had any great command of English when he came to America.

Both the friends were endowed with the national thriftiness and had saved money at the Hague, which they now invested in real estate in Bedford county, Pennsylvania, and also in Maryland. They were already highly esteemed by their seniors, as well as the juniors with whom they were brought in contact, and never wanted for warm friends in their own profession. Both had the thorough German genius for details, and it ere long became known that any programme entrusted to either would be faithfully carried out.

Haldimand's face in the picture that has come down to us, has a decided suggestion of his contemporary, George Washington, in the high square forehead, the shape of the nose and the arrangement of the hair, but the mouth is quite different, being small and thin-lipped, with a prim and somewhat severe expression that is belied by the genial kindliness of most beautiful brown eyes. Bouquet does not look nearly so distinguished, but shows an honest, good-humoured, double-chinned face that might pass for a Dutchman's. The two colonels, as well as the younger officers they had brought with them from Holland proved to be splendidly adapted to the service required of them.

In the records of Cumberland county it is stated that in September, 1757, Colonel Haldeman, to whose name the German settlers gave their own spelling, inspected the camp of his regiment at Carlisle and reported upon its lack of ammunition and other necessaries. Different indeed from European warfare was this following up of elusive bands of savages who rarely attacked the forts but devastated remote farmhouses or lay in wait for their occupants going to and from their work in the fields. There was no marching to meet the enemy with unbroken front and glittering arms as at the battle of Mollwitz. The Royal Americans must endeavour to hide their red coats behind the trees, and George Washington wrote to Bouquet suggesting that he and his men adopt the Indian costume. Savage methods would have to be used in fighting savages, as European commanders had learned from General Braddock.

"We shall know better how to deal with them another time," he had said on his death-bed, and that other time came within the ken of Henry Bouquet, who, as second in command to the invalid General Forbes, took the long, road-building march with his troops over the mountains and triumphantly made a Fort Pitt out of Fort Duquesne.

While the plan of campaign for 1758 was still in abeyance, it was proposed to place Haldimand in command of the Ohio district, and there was

further talk of his sailing for Louisbourg to take part in Lord Loudoun's "cabbage-planting" expedition, but in the meantime he was ordered to make up for the neglect of the Maryland assembly by keeping a watchful eye on Fort Cumberland, to see that it was not left unprotected through the provincial troops going home. Eventually he received a letter from General Abercromby, who had probably crossed the Atlantic on the same ship with him, saying that though he would not be offended at a refusal he would be highly pleased to have Haldimand in command of one of his battalions for the expedition into Canada by way of Crown Point. The offer was accepted and the colonel exchanged from the second to the fourth battalion of the Royal Americans.

Before he had been two years in the country a nephew and namesake from Switzerland had joined him, a boy about fourteen years of age. Abercromby remarked on his small size when bestowing upon him a commission as ensign, at his uncle's request. This little Frederick was the second of the seven sons of Jean-Abraham Haldimand, the colonel's younger brother.

By the month of June, Haldimand was at Saratoga busied with setting in motion the lumbering teams of oxen with their loads of provisions destined for Fort Miller. As protection must be secured for them there, Abercromby directed his colonel to superintend the building of a block-house

and stockade and to employ the provincials who would work at it like giants.

Every preparation was being made for the conquest of Canada which was confidently expected that summer, since fifteen thousand men, the largest army that had yet undertaken the task, were now marching to its completion. How General Montcalm stopped them at Carillon, is best told in a couple of letters written by an eye witness from Lake George, dated July 10th, 1758:

"The 5th inst. the whole Army Embarqued on board Battoes and the 6th in the morning Landed without opposition at the French advance guard. The same day in the afternoon as our Army was advancing to Ticonderoga our Advanced Guard was attacked by 350 of the Enemy, few of whom escaped to carry intelligence back. 140 of the party was killed on the spot and 152 was taken prisoners. Our loss in this attack did not exceed 30. Unfortunately the Brave Lord Howe was killed in the beginning of this Brush. Our Army got dispersed in the woods in the pursuit, therefore it was thought proper to return to the place where we first Landed. There we was all right. Next morning, the 7th, at Day Light the whole army Marched and in the afternoon took possession without Opposition of the French Second Advance guard or Mills. The morning of the fatal eighth, Broadstreet with an engineer was sent to reconoitre the French lines. They soon returned with the following Acct. That the Enemy

was Encamp'd on rising ground about half a mile from the Fort but not fortified, only a few Logs laid one on another as a breast work. Upon this intelligence it was thought proper to attempt storming the enemy's lines without loss of time and immediately the whole Army Marched and began the Attack about 9 a.m. I have not time to give you the order of Battle, therefore let it suffice that our Army was repulsed thrice and as often returned to the Charge in the space of four hours. They were obliged to retreat at last with the loss of 2,000 of our best men and officers. This is only my own opinion, no return being made as yet. Our Intelligence was bad for the French had a regular Entrenchment faced with Logs. Their Trench 20 foot broad and Parapet in Proportion. No Regt. has suffered so much as the Highlanders, part of which got upon the top of the french Lines every time an Attack was made and drove the french from where they entered. As a return is not made I am not able to give you a list of the officers killed and Wounded only that every officer of Distinction except the two Generals and Gage are either Killed or Wounded."

The same writer continues two days later:—"I just arrived at the Army time enough to have a share in the misfortune of the 9th. Oh what a glorious prospect on the morning of that day after we had beat all their Out Posts and taken so many prisoners we had nothing in view but Glory and

Victory with sight of the French Fort, and yet by experience, I, to my Grief, find how little dependance one must make on all worldly Expectations. in short is all a Chimera, by Attacking a French intrenchment without Cannon, we lost all our fine views, however I hope we will soon have at them again. Never was there in the world Troops behaved with greater coolness and resolution than ours in spite of all their disadvantages nor never was there in the world such a piece of ground to fight on. It was so very bad that after we were within gunshot the enemy might easily fire ten Rounds before we got up to the length of their intrenchments and that in the face of such a fire of smallarms, wall pieces and musquets as I never saw before (and I think I have seen the smartest that happened all last war) but also after we came to the trenches we found them above six foot high without a possibility of getting in and we had the same fire to stand in coming back.

"This work might have lasted about four hours during which time the six regular regiments lost 1,526 Men besides 97 of our best officers Killed and Wounded. I am far from being surprised that we lost so few for such a damnable fire no man in this army ever saw before, the provincials lost very few except the York Regt. who lost some. True indeed the provincials were never Engaged. They came up to sustain us but they began to fire at such a distance they killed several of our men.

Yet upon the whole they behaved extremely well. Our principal officers lost are Ld. Howe, Coll. Beaver, Coln. Donaldson, Major Rutherford, Major Proby. Well we are beat but I hope we'll soon have at them again. Ld. Howe's death was a bad affair but he exposed himself too much. We'll wait here at the Lake till there are some officers made, the destruction of them is so great that we have no officers to do duty in the line. Another have at the dogs again. The Engineer Clark is in a dying condition. The first Brigade is most terribly shattered as you may see from Ld. John Murray's highlanders who were the first Regt. of that Brigade. The Indians we had with us who viewed the affair at a distance, allowed us more bravery than the French, but say we are not half so cunning. We breathe nothing but revenge. A flag of Truce going tomorrow to Ticonderoga."

Lists of the officers killed and wounded are enclosed and the first name upon the latter is "Coll. Haldiman," of whom another account says: "Major Proby who was killed commanded the pickets who made the first attack, supported by the Grenadiers commanded by Colonel Haldimand (slightly wounded)."

Abercromby was recalled at the end of the season and his place supplied by General Amherst who also became colonel commanding the Royal American Regiment. To Colonel Haldimand he wrote a polite note in French, announcing the fact,

and the subsequent letters that passed between them indicate mutual friendliness. The Swiss colonel was also by this time in correspondence with General Gage, long his superior officer, whose first letter had reached Haldimand in the early spring at Half-Way Brook, so-called from its position between Fort Edward on the Hudson and the new Fort George which Amherst caused to be built on the site of Fort William Henry.

Gage writes: "I am very sorry we are so far separated this winter as not to be able to cultivate the acquaintance began last Summer, which I shall take every opportunity of doing, and hope next Campain will furnish me with the means of establishing a Friendship with a person for whom I have a great esteem."

The intercourse between the two continued by correspondence and in due time Haldimand knew English well enough to appreciate the reading matter Gage sent him, as well as his letters, to which, however, he always replied in French.

The winter of 1758-9 Colonel Haldimand was in command at Fort Edward, a dangerous post, for what was to hinder the victorious French from pushing their way onward even to Albany? Only the fact that Montcalm was without the men or the means for such an undertaking. His Indian allies, confirmed in their allegiance, prowled about the British post, eager for the scalps of hunters and wood-cutters.

The colonel was constantly called upon to settle disputes between regulars and rangers. The latter had no real army rank but were as touchy as Indians and required to be humoured since they were indispensable for scouting duty. There were not enough of them, so Haldimand drilled about two hundred of his own men to go out in parties with the rangers and learn their methods. These silent-stepping scouts on snow-shoes explored the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, even to the mountain on the east side, which Gage regretted had not been done before—and with reason. Had Broadstreet and his engineer inspected that height which commanded the fort, the slaughter of July 9th would have been averted.

The New York climate was much more severe than that of the central colonies from which most of the Royal Americans had been drawn and they suffered greatly from the cold, getting their feet frozen and being obliged to cut up their blankets in which to wrap them. Haldimand's nearest neighbour, as well as his commanding officer, was General Gage at Albany, who sent him instructions concerning the storehouses and other works that were to be constructed at Fort Edward in the spring, which seemed desperately long in coming. By way of consolation Gage wrote February 15th, 1759, in quite a facetious tone:—

"Nature is ever indulgent to the necessitous, and tho' she offers you nothing but Ice and snow upon

her surface she will supply you with brick-clay underneath the snow which I have seen used in many villages of Europe. Tho' Fort Edward should be most ungrateful, Lake George, however, will be more kind and furnish you both stone and lime besides the bricks of the many chimneys that were built there, and I think with such materials your men may *rub thro' the Winter* as well as their predecessors or even those that pass it *à côté des jolies femmes*." He had been apprehensive about the supply of hay and provisions at Fort Edward but says to Haldimand, "You have managed so dextrously with both that my fears are over. . . . . I have some old magazines scarce worth reading. They are at present lent out but I will send them to you by some other opportunity."

Why did he not name these periodicals and thus gratify a present-day public, curious to know exactly what were the well-thumbed pages sent from post to post to beguile the tedium of a lonely winter? There would be the Gentleman's Magazine of course, and perhaps the London, Westminster, Scots or Universal; perchance one of the more solid quarterly reviews, Dr. Johnson's Rambler, or another literary journal. With no illustrations, little current news and many a high-flown treatise, they would yet receive a welcome which no modern magazine can gain from the satiated readers of to-day.

The long-looked-for summer came with a leap at

last and the garrison at Fort Edward gladly received its marching orders—to advance by way of the Mohawk river, Oneida lake and Oswego river to the shore of Lake Ontario. The first view of a fresh-water sea stretching to the horizon would be another astonishment to the Swiss colonel whose ideal of lakes had been formed from those wherein the Alpine ranges were reflected. These sandy shores, relieved in places by low bluffs were not his model of the picturesque, but the voyage to the mouth of the Oswego river had not been undertaken in search of scenery. The fortress there, for years an important stronghold of the British, had been destroyed by Montcalm in 1756, but General Amherst wished it rebuilt and this was the duty that fell to the lot of Colonel Haldimand. Further to the westward was Fort Niagara, held for the French by a garrison in command of Captain Pouchot of the regiment of Béarn.

It was during this summer that Wolfe was besieging Quebec, and Amherst building forts and fleets on Lake Champlain, instead of hastening to his assistance. To General Prideaux's army had been entrusted the task of clearing the enemy from Lake Ontario, and Niagara was the chief point to be attacked. Captain Pouchot called for help from the western posts and it came—nearly twelve hundred colonial regulars, *coureurs de bois*, and Indians, from Presqu'île, on Lake Erie, Forts Le Boeuf and Venango where they had been mustering with the

design of transforming Fort Pitt once more into Fort Duquesne. As the need of Niagara was greater they responded to Pouchot's appeal but never reached him, being met by the British in overwhelming numbers and defeated.

After a siege of seventeen days Niagara surrendered and the proud man to take possession of the fort was Sir William Johnson, as General Prideaux had been killed by accident at the very beginning of the attack. Haldimand's brother officers regretted that the honour had not fallen to him, but he had been left behind at Oswego with 500 or 600 men, and was given a lesser chance to distinguish himself there.

Before the British had time to entrench themselves on the site of Fort Ontario, they were attacked by a large body of Canadians and Indians under the partisan officer, La Corne de St. Luc. Colonel Haldimand, though taken by surprise, promptly ordered his men to shelter themselves behind the barrels of flour and pork, of which a sufficient supply had been brought to provision the whole expedition. The loss of this fort would have entailed the abandonment of Niagara also, but the British fire came so fiercely from behind the impromptu barricade that the French retired in chagrin and the colonel could congratulate himself on having held his important post with a loss of but two killed and eleven wounded. M. Douville, in charge at Toronto, heard the cannonading at Niagara and

evacuated his post, so that the British gained their end in having possession of Lake Ontario.

Upon the death of General Prideaux the command devolved upon Haldimand as next in rank, but to the dismay of the subordinates, Sir William Johnson arrogated it to himself, and sent orders to the colonel to join him at Niagara. Haldimand came and claimed the leadership, but Sir William refused to yield it, and the other was too much of a gentleman to quarrel with him, though he could see for himself that he had not been misinformed regarding the confusion that reigned in the camp. Haldimand wrote to Amherst saying he would serve under Johnson temporarily sooner than make trouble, and the general in reply praised him for his prudent conduct, saying how essential it was not to offend Sir William, the only man capable of keeping the Six Nations faithful to the British, who could not carry on the campaign without them.

An entry in Sir William Johnson's diary reads: "August 1st, 1759, I went to see Niagara Falls with Colonel Haldimand, Mr. Ogilvie, and several officers, escorted by three companies of light infantry. Arrived there about 11 o'clock."

No doubt the sublimity of the scene, unmarred at that time by the hand of man, would help to soothe Haldimand's irritation, and the next day his party returned to Oswego in two whale-boats, primed with minute directions from Sir William as to what

was to be accomplished before his own arrival two days later.

On the 16th General Gage came to take the chief command, showing orders from General Amherst that included an attack upon the French post at La Galette (Ogdensburg) on the St. Lawrence. If General Wolfe should be defeated at Quebec, which seemed not unlikely, the French, freed from the siege of their capital, would swarm up the river and they must at any cost be kept from regaining their foothold on Lake Ontario.

Gage and his subordinates had frequent discussions as to whether or not it was practicable to attempt the expedition. Haldimand voted against it, but Johnson was keen for it, if only to give employment to his Indians who had gathered about Oswego in large numbers, and who, if not started on the war-path, would go home in disgust and be unwilling to turn out the next time they were wanted. Sir William pleaded that it was at least possible to capture and destroy La Galette; but Haldimand's more conservative counsels prevailed and the baronet had to content himself with humouring his Indians by fitting out various scalping parties for the neighbourhood of the French post.

The news reached Oswego that Amherst was building a large five-sided fort at Crown Point with five redoubts, which it would take him the rest of the season to complete, and his subordinate officers criticized without reserve the slowness of

his procedure. Why should they be in haste to reach Quebec if he was not? They employed themselves with the re-erection of Fort Ontario, varied by a little fishing and duck-shooting. Johnson's journal tells us he dines with the general on a Michaelmas goose, and that on October 4th he had Gage, Haldimand and other officers to dinner with him in his tent. On the 8th one of his scouting parties returned with "the agreeable news" that Quebec had surrendered, and the next week Sir William dismissed his Indians and went home. By November Gage too withdrew into winter quarters at Albany, and Haldimand was left with the 4th Battalion of the Royal Americans in command of the new Fort Ontario.

CHAPTER III

HALDIMAND GOES TO CANADA

OSWEGO is an Indian word meaning "rapid water," while Ontario signifies "pretty lake," and neither term is a misnomer. The river, reinforced by the waters of inland lakes to the south and east, came rushing downward in swift full-heartedness to its desired haven, the union with Ontario. That blue, boundless lake lost its summer prettiness in winter-time, taking on a deeper, colder tint, and the ice-bound river-mouth made a bridge for the travellers to and from the post upon its eastern bank. The snow settled down about Fort Ontario, the lake froze out from the shore and the garrisons, there and at Niagara, sickened with scurvy of a sort prevalent among seamen, for which the damp air was blamed. Lime juice, vinegar, cider and other refreshments were sent as alleviations and there was some jealousy between the two posts as to which was entitled to the bulk of these supplies.

Far removed from the rest of the world, the officers would be thankful for the magazines Gage continued to send—the last he had received from England, which he hoped would make amends for his own sterility of amusing matter. He had given written instructions to Haldimand regarding one

part of his duty:—"You will protect all Indian traders who produce proper passes provided they trade in a fair and honest way; such as shall be convicted of Frauds and Impositions, or, contrary to your orders, sell Rum to Soldiers or Indians whereby the good order and discipline necessary to be kept up in your Garrison shall be interrupted you will banish immediately from your Fort giving notice thereof to the Posts above that they may be sent back to the Inhabited country and not suffered to remain on the communication. The Indians may carry away any quantitys of Rum but the traders must not retail it here."

Haldimand had block-houses built to protect the righteous traders and also the boat-landing, as Amherst's orders were to begin the construction of ten or twelve galleys as soon as navigation opened. He was to use his best endeavours also to preserve the *Mississauga*, almost the only schooner on Lake Ontario, for which purpose sailors and ship carpenters no longer needed on Lake Champlain were sent him; but eventually only the rigging was preserved. The smaller craft too had suffered much damage. Evidently old Ontario was not to be trifled with.

So much sickness and so many deaths among the soldiers under his care made the colonel ardently long for the planting-time when he could sow the seeds sent him, in the large gardens he had caused to be prepared at both Niagara and Oswego.

He knew the value of outdoor employment for his men, besides the benefit to be derived in their enfeebled condition from a diet of fresh vegetables. Having lived in Holland, the headquarters of scientific floriculture, it was probably there that he acquired the tastes which have caused him to be remembered as one of the earliest experimental gardeners on this continent.

The mid-season between summer and winter, one cannot call it spring, Haldimand would find the most trying. For a few weeks, while the sun was warm overhead, the melting snow would render the roads impassable and the ice still lingered on the lake borders. On March 9th Gage wrote:— "The snow went off before I could send you the molasses which must now go up by water when the Rivers and Lakes are navigable. Your men will get better of their distemper when fresh herbs spring up."

The air grew balmy overhead and the evenings bright with the bonfires of burning brush that had to be cleared away from the front of the fort. The sick soldiers crept out to bask in the strong sunshine and by the middle of April the lake had shaken herself free from her icy bondage. There was much activity both within and without Fort Ontario that spring of 1760, for the commander-in-chief was expected to bring his main army there by way of the Mohawk and Oswego rivers, to carry out the campaign arranged the year before.

General Wolfe alone had fulfilled his part of it, and died in the doing. General Murray, who had manfully held Quebec with a handful of soldiers through the winter, ventured without its gates and was defeated by General Lévis at Ste. Foye, on April 28th. This was the news brought by the Onondaga Indians who had been sent out from Oswego on purpose to capture some intelligent prisoner, so that the fate of the capital might be ascertained.

"I am apprehensive," wrote Amherst, "that unless our fleet arrive soon, Mr. Murray may be obliged to retreat to the island of Orleans, which is his intention in case it does not." The ships came in time to secure possession of Canada's capital, but till the last remaining French post was captured and the whole country subjugated, Amherst's work was not done. General Lévis and the survivors of his gallant troops of the line still held out at Montreal, and there the British decided to descend upon him from three directions: Murray was to bring one army up from Quebec, Haviland another by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, while Amherst himself was to come with the largest force down the St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario.

He arrived at Oswego on July 9th and thoroughly approved of the work that Haldimand had accomplished there. It was fully a month before the whole army was assembled, though it is written that the

GENERAL JAMES MURRAY

From a painting in the Public Archives of Canada

general reviewed the troops on the third of August. He was a deliberate sort of man, anxious to do his duty but without the genius of Wolfe to enable him to "seize the moment flying."

The journal of Sergeant John Johnson contains some contemporary information worthy of note:— "General Amherst's army being assembled at Oswego and joined by a body of Indians under the command of General Sir William Johnson, he detached Colonel Haldimand with the Light Infantry, Grenadiers, and Montgomery's regiment of Highlanders, to take post at the bottom of the lake to assist the armed vessels in finding a passage to La Galette, as also in pursuance of his plan he had ordered two armed vessels to cruise on the Lake Ontario." These would be the *Onondaga* and the *Mohawk*, classed as "snows," a kind of craft unknown to modern navigators but in common use for merchant service upon the lakes before and after revolutionary times. They had two masts like the main and foremast of a ship, and a third, smaller, near the stern, which carried a try-sail. An officer and thirty men were put on board of each and directed to sail across the lake to Frontenac, where they could challenge the French ships in harbour to come out and give battle.

Haldimand's command sailed safely through the island-blocked mouth of the St. Lawrence and by August 18th was ordered to row down close to the river's southern shore and take up a position

opposite the French fort, but out of range of its fire. Captain Pouchot, the brave defender of Niagara, was there, and some of his former antagonists gave him a cheer in passing. He had left the mainland and established himself upon an island in the river with respectable entrenchments which he called Fort de Lévis. There with undaunted front he watched the arrival of the whale-boats and batteaux —over eight hundred of them—containing his foes, to whom he gave a hot reception with his well-aimed cannon. But Pouchot knew he could not ultimately prevail against such numbers with artillery in proportion; all he hoped to achieve was the delay of Amherst's army in its descent upon Montreal, so that Governor Vaudreuil and General Lévis might gain time to deal with Murray and Haviland separately. Amherst's own division had dropped further down the river than Haldimand's, but the latter was instructed to join him through the night. His battery was ready for action before the general's, but by the 23rd all were prepared and the desultory cannonading of the three previous days became a steady roar. The French captain, having succeeded in diverting the enemy's attention for a whole week, saw that his tiny island fortress would soon be battered to bits, and surrendered.

But there were worse foes than Pouchot and his three hundred to be met and vanquished before Amherst could join forces with his generals around Montreal. The great river of Canada seemed herself

to have taken up arms in defence of the nation whose *voyageurs* had been wrestling with her rocks and currents for more than a century. What did the invading British know of steering through swirling eddies, of marking by its colour where the deep water ran; of the swift turn of a paddle in a steady hand that could bring a boat in safety through one after another of the rapids of the St. Lawrence? Pilots had been found among the surrendered Canadians, but it was impossible to have one in each boat, and though they tried to follow one another, there were not enough cool heads and quick eyes, capable of controlling the craft when actually caught in the maddening whirl of tossing waters. The smaller rapids were passed in safety, but in the Long Sault, four soldiers, three of them Highlanders, lost their lives. That was on September 1st, and on the 4th, during the passage of the Cedars and Cascades, forty-six boats were totally wrecked, many others damaged, and eighty-four men were drowned.

With ardour damped by this disaster, the army disembarked at Lachine, marching thence to Montreal, three leagues distant, where they found Haviland facing the town upon the southern mainland, and Murray encamped on the east of the island itself.

The time for the final capitulation of Canada had come. Lévis with but 2,200 regulars could not hope to hold out behind slim walls, against a

united army of 18,000 men. He asked that his soldiers who had made so good a fight for Canada might be allowed to march out with the honours of war, carrying their arms, but to this request General Amherst replied:—"I am fully resolved, for the infamous part the troops of France have acted in exciting the savages to perpetrate the most horrid and unheard-of barbarities in the whole progress of the war, and for other open treacheries and flagrant breaches of faith, to manifest to all the world by this capitulation my detestation of such practices."

How much this refusal meant to troops of the line civilians cannot estimate. From Lévis down, every French officer bitterly resented the indignity put upon him, but Amherst was firm and the capitulation was signed on September 8th. To Governor Vaudreuil he wrote:—"I have just sent to your Excellency, by Major Abercrombie, a duplicate of the capitulation which you have signed this morning; and in conformity thereto, and to the letters which have passed between us, I likewise send Colonel Haldimand to take possession of one of the gates of the town, in order to enforce the observation of good order, and prevent differences on both sides. I flatter myself that you will have room to be fully satisfied with my choice of the said colonel on this occasion." The defeated governor was fully satisfied, since no one could have discharged the delicate duty entrusted to him with

more tact than the chosen emissary—courteous in his bearing, and speaking French as his native tongue.

With a corps of grenadiers, light infantry and a twelve-pounder, Colonel Haldimand took possession of the city of Montreal, and his orders were to let no person pass out or in except the guards and civil servants of whom he was given a list. According to established custom, he demanded the restoration of any British flags captured during the war, as well as the surrender of the colours of the French regiments. These last were not forthcoming, though they had been recently seen, and Amherst directed Haldimand to tell Vaudreuil they must be produced or all baggage would be searched. It was whispered ere long that Lévis had caused the flags to be burned in order that they might not fall into the hands of the English, but he denied the charge, although all the standards never came forth to clear him. He and his troops laid down their arms, agreeing not to serve again during the war and were sent home to France. Amherst assured the French officers that every arrangement would be made for their comfort, and as the surest means to that end he placed the provisioning and embarkation in the hands of Colonel Haldimand. But no man can make bricks without straw, and the scarcity of vessels to convey so large a number of persons across the seas made the problem of shipping the military, and the *noblesse* with their families who

desired to go with them, difficult of solution. Since enough good ships were not available, Amherst chartered some that proved unseaworthy, notably the *Auguste*, which was wrecked in the gulf. Of the 150 souls aboard but six were saved, including Haldimand's old opponent at Oswego, La Corne de St. Luc.

General Amherst, as commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, took up his headquarters in New York, but Haldimand remained for nearly two years in Montreal, under General Gage, who had been appointed governor of the town and district. The soldiers in his care, facing a wintry climate more severe than any they had yet experienced, must have been in want of many comforts and even necessaries. A charitable society in London took cognizance of the fact and Colonel Haldimand was charged with the distribution of its timely gifts. That the Swiss soldier of fortune was favourably impressed with Canada is evident from a letter written from Montreal to Colonel Bouquet, now stationed at Fort Pitt, wherein he described himself as being thoroughly satisfied with his position and advised his friend not to leave the service.

CHAPTER IV

MILITARY RULE AT THREE RIVERS

HOW to govern a newly conquered country, of different laws and language from their own, is a problem that has faced several European lands, and England's solution, though not entirely satisfactory, has never yet been improved upon. A certain amount of discontent among the new subjects is inevitable, and different experiments may be made before the best course is discovered, but patience and a convincing desire to benefit the governed will ultimately have their reward.

For four years after the conquest Canada was under martial law, which sounds like despotism, but was not so in this case. To upset the customs and traditions of an ignorant people by forcing new regulations upon them at the outset would have been cruel and unwise, and as few changes as possible were made. The rulers were told to adapt themselves to the people, who grew to feel that they were being freed from bondage instead of coming under it. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander-in-chief at New York, was also the nominal governor of Canada, but the actual duties fell upon his lieutenant-governors, James Murray at Quebec, Thomas Gage at Montreal, and Ralph Burton at

Three Rivers, and these were men whose personal character inclined them to the prescribed policy of conciliation. Not while they were military governors would the French Canadians be subjected to annoyance or ill treatment either from British soldiers or from the unprincipled pack that began to come in from the other colonies. Governor Murray described these immigrants as being of low birth, uneducated and the most immoral men he ever knew, while the Canadians were frugal, industrious and moral. The best of feeling existed between the *habitants* and their seigniors, while the priests, though not highly educated, were much respected by parishioners still more unlearned.

England at this time was at war with Spain, and Governor Burton being called upon to join his regiment in the projected siege of Havana, the Cuban capital of the Spanish West Indies, Colonel Haldimand went to Three Rivers to govern that district in his absence. He went in May, 1762, and in June there came to him a welcome letter from Sir Jeffrey Amherst:—"By this Packett I have received a list of officers who are Promoted to the Rank of Colonel in the army, and it gives me pleasure to find your name amongst them." Hitherto he had held that position in America only, and he now took steps to become also a British subject, since an act had been passed naturalizing all foreign officers who had served in the Seven Years' War.

Three Rivers, his new scene of action, named

from the triple outlet of the River St. Maurice into the St. Lawrence, was founded by Laviolette in 1634. It had been a famous trading post for the Hurons and the Algonquins, among whom the Jesuits laboured for twenty years (1640-1660), until the Iroquois scattered their flock. At the conquest the population was 6,612, with an auxiliary of five hundred christianized Abenaquis and Algonquins settled in the villages of Bécancour, St. François and Point du Lac. Haldimand divided the government into four districts, Champlain and Rivière du Loup on the north shore, St. François and Gentilly on the south. There was in each of these a "chamber of audience," wherein was stationed a corps of militia officers, presided over by a captain, and to them were brought for settlement all civil cases, which were judged according to the long established laws of the country. Thieves, murderers, criminals of any kind, alone were tried by court martial.

As there was still some danger from the French, peace having not yet been declared, Murray had war sloops cruising in the river, while he trusted to Haldimand for reinforcements should they be required. The latter held five companies in readiness to march to Jacques Cartier and Deschambault, but he believed the enemy's manœuvres in the St. Lawrence were only a feint to cover their real designs upon Newfoundland, whereon they hoped to obtain a foothold which would enable them to

claim fishing rights in the approaching treaty of peace. He proved a true prophet, and when the news came of the taking of St. John's he was pleased to remark that it had no disturbing effect upon the people of his government. On the contrary, he was firmly convinced that a return of the French would fill the inhabitants with despair, as they valued their increase of liberty, and desired only to be let alone to get in their harvest. Some restriction had to be placed upon their disposal of grain, for they were inclined to seek the larger prices of the larger markets now to be had in the English colonies. To ship it all out of the country would be to court famine at home. Exportation was therefore forbidden in the winter time, except in seasons when the price of wheat in Quebec was less than three shillings and four pence a *minot*.

There was a fire in Three Rivers that summer, and one the next; both large, considering the size of the town, for we read that five whole houses were burned at once. The soldiers worked hard as firemen, a rôle which taxed their energies to the utmost, as the houses were all of wood and there were no fire-engines, even of the most primitive description. The governor issued a proclamation, calling for aid to be given to the burnt-out families as a thank offering from those who had escaped, and he appointed certain priests to receive the donations. Those who could not give money were asked to contribute planks, beams, or other

material suitable for rebuilding, and he authorized a lottery for the same purpose. On October 2nd he issued a special notice on the subject of fires and how to prevent them, as the inhabitants took no precautions, having scarcely even a ladder available. Now there was to be one in every house.

Haldimand's official proclamations would interest the seeker after local colour. The public is warned to be on the look-out for two German servants who have deserted from Montreal; anyone harbouring a certain individual under arrest will be subjected to corporal punishment; cattle are to be kept fenced in, and it is forbidden to buy pickaxes or shovels from the soldiers, as these are His Majesty's property. The primitive character of the local government is indicated in the placard announcing that the administration of justice will be suspended from August 7th till September 15th, to allow the administrators to go home and attend to their crops.

The governor was invited to a horse race in Quebec, and perhaps he went and perhaps it was then he made up his mind that before the winter set in the king's highway must be improved. At any rate in the autumn he proclaimed that the road between Montreal and Quebec in certain places within the government of Three Rivers was so narrow that couriers and *voyageurs* were retarded whenever several carriages met, while lakes and sloughs were formed by heavy falls of rain or snow. It was therefore ordered that "*le grand chemin de*

Roy," leading from Montreal to Quebec should be made thirty feet wide between the enclosures or the woods, and that in order to drain the waters there should be a ditch at all necessary places, three feet wide and two and a half feet deep, in digging which the earth was to be thrown into the middle of the road proper, so as to give it a gentle slope towards the ditch. A writer of the time describes this highway:—"The road from Quebec to Montreal is almost a continued street, the villages being numerous and so extended along the banks of the River St. Lawrence as to leave scarce a space without houses in view; except where here or there a river, a wood or a mountain intervenes, as if to give a more pleasing variety to the scene."

The journey between the two towns was generally made by boat in the summer time, a three days' excursion, with a nightly landing to dance at the houses of the seigniors, if there were ladies in the party.

The very first proclamation issued by the new governor of Three Rivers had reference to the prohibition of persons hunting upon the seigniory of St. Maurice, three leagues from the town, or around the forges there, without permission. The existence of these mines, which were considered of sufficient importance to claim a special clause in the capitulation of Canada, was first made known to Intendant Talon in 1666. He sent a couple of engineers to investigate them, but it was 1730-36

before they were worked by a private company, and King Louis reclaimed their ownership in 1743.

The St. Maurice forges would be the first thing to attract Colonel Haldimand's attention when he assumed the governorship, and on May 24th he sent General Amherst an estimate of the probable expense of smelting a quantity of worn-out guns and bombs that were in store. The commander-in-chief was pleased to approve his scheme for "converting all the old cast-iron into bars of serviceable and good iron," "as well as getting the room that all that useless stuff takes up."

If Three Rivers iron could come into use for the navy, Haldimand undertook to keep up the supply Thirty-three thousand pounds of pig iron were smelted in one month, and before the end of August he had three million pounds of good iron in bars. Montreal and Quebec both sent their old metal to be worked over, and the profits of the year amounted to $1,770.84. This was not a large amount according to modern ideas, but the ruinous state of the forges must be taken into account, as well as the deficiency of tools and skilled mechanics.

The colonel had to keep a close eye upon the works himself with but little encouragement from the inhabitants, who were not sufficiently far-seeing to consider what a mighty difference the success of the forges would make in the development of their district. Why this energetic governor should wish to rebuild them and should advance money out of

his own pocket to keep them going was what they could not understand.

Ore was collected and the work went on under the direction of a Swede called Nordberg, who knew his business. Why should he not? When Pierre Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, visited the forges in 1749, he observed that they were worked upon the system employed in his country and was curious to account for the fact. The reason reached back to the time of the French minister Colbert, who in 1674 had sent artisans to learn their trade in Sweden, and they had taught the workmen who afterwards came to Canada. Dr. Laterrière who was inspector of the forges from 1775 to 1780, reports them making a profit of fifty louis a day at that time and employing 400 to 800 persons.[1]

It was during his first term at Three Rivers that Haldimand made the acquaintance of that erratic priest, Père Roubaud. The Récollet Fathers had been recommended to him by General Gage as honest, obedient men of simple manners, with no desire to stir up ill-will by mixing in cabals or intrigue. But this man was a Jesuit. When he went to Quebec without a passport, the Father Superior agreed to hold him fast and shut him up in the seminary as his conduct was a disgrace to the

[1] Of the district he says:—"Le pais est plat, le terrain (un sol jaune et sablonneux) est plein de savanes et de brûlés, où se trouve la mine par veines, que l'on appelle mine en grains ou en galets, de couleur bleue; quoique le mineral contienne du soufre et des matières terreuses, il rend en général 33 pour 100 de pur et excellent fer."

order; but he was not easily restrained. Amherst wrote that Père Roubaud was not to be allowed to rove about, but on his return to Three Rivers he asked leave to go with some Indians in search of new mines, and Haldimand let him depart, though he had small faith in the result of his travels. The French might not be very good farmers, but as explorers they had not left anything of moment unmarked.

The unworthy Father came back destitute, and Haldimand supplied his wants, giving him also some writing to do. He was a clever scamp, this Roubaud, and the spurious letter of Montcalm, predicting far too circumstantially the revolt of the British colonies, has been attributed to him. At his final appearance during Haldimand's régime at Three Rivers, he was suffering from an attack of tertian fever and it was a month before he was well enough to be removed to the care of his brethren in Quebec.

When the colonel assumed his new command, there had appeared to be danger of friction between him and Governor Murray, whom he credited with a desire to assert the supremacy of Quebec over Three Rivers, which caused Haldimand to insist upon the independence of his government. The two ultimately became good friends and General Murray exerted himself to further the advancement in the army of his colleague's nephew.

Frederick Haldimand, junior, had been with his

uncle in the 4th battalion, Royal Americans, at Montreal, but now he was put upon surveying duty. Besides drawing sectional maps of the province he was required to send in historical accounts of the towns and governments of Three Rivers and Montreal. He had also to collect contemporary details of administration, no easy task, as the colonel explained to General Murray, whom he ran the risk of offending through the excuses he made for his young relative.

He had wished his nephew to serve as an engineer for nothing save experience, but Murray gave him a year's pay and suggested that he settle his debts therewith. The lieutenant "seemed so uneasy" at this proposal that the general told him he had better place himself under his uncle's protection. The boy had no vices, it appeared, but some very expensive tastes which his guardian was not rich enough to gratify. He hoped the tradesmen would teach Frederick a lesson by pressing him hard, as they were to blame for having given him credit.

That the colonel was much attached to his young namesake there is abundant evidence. It was with a view to settling him upon it that he bought, in 1765, the seigniory of Grand Pabôs, a part of the Gaspé peninsula on the north side of the Chaleur Bay, where now is a township of the same name. It was not a popular part of the country among farmers, who preferred the banks of the great river, or of the Richelieu. German settlers

were tried, but they lacked experience and needed too much assistance, difficult to give in such a remote quarter; so Haldimand was advised to transport some of the expatriated Acadians who would in all probability gladly accede to the liberal conditions offered.

He had property too in Shipody, Nova Scotia, but the first cost of land anywhere was little in comparison with the amount that had to be expended in getting it cleared and settled. Three Rivers was proving an expensive government for an honest man, and Haldimand would gladly have resigned it at the end of six months. The twenty shillings a day allowed him was not sufficient to maintain his position, and he had even to furnish money for the needed repairs to government house.

Colonel Burton had left his family at Three Rivers in charge of Colonel Haldimand, and he was expected back by the end of October, but it was December ere he arrived in New York, and he remained there for some time in order that the transition from the Cuban summer to the rigorous climate of Canada might not be too sudden. Always looking for his return, the substitute made the best of things as they were, and even tried to better them. He found the Canadians at Three Rivers, as elsewhere, a litigious lot, and endeavoured to the best of his ability to persuade them to settle their differences by amiable arbitration, instead of by perpetual lawsuits.

The most troublesome class with whom he had to deal were the wearers of that coveted decoration, the Cross of St. Louis, who lived upon the glamour of their past exploits, chiefly in "the little war" with savage allies. Poor and proud, there were not more than a dozen of them left in Canada, but some who had gone to France returned, embittered by their reception in the mother country, and by their losses through the paper money of M. Bigot, for the repose of whose soul, Haldimand judged, there would be a lack of masses. Gage wrote him upon this subject: "I am glad to hear that your Croix de St. Louis talk so loudly against the French, tho' I don't believe their treatment in France was so bad as they represent; they were put upon the same footing as all the other French troops, but these gentlemen expected to be put upon an extraordinary footing. I hope they will behave with that decency and obedience to their new monarch under whose protection they enjoy their liberty and estates which becomes their situation. They are of a busy temper and hardly to be restrained from meddling in all affairs."[1]

The clergy and *noblesse* refused to believe that Canada would ever be ceded to England, and when the Treaty of Paris placed the country finally under British rule, a second exodus took place, though

[1] L'abbé Raynal is quite of this opinion—"La colonie n'auroit-elle pas beaucoup gagné à être débarrassée de tous ces nobles orgueilleux qui y entretenoient le mépris de tous les travaux?"

THE HABITANT AT HOME

From a painting by Kreighoff

smaller than was expected. A number of the intending emigrants had meanwhile become satisfied with the new régime. "I am satisfied," wrote Haldimand, "that they would be in despair were they to see a French fleet and troops arrive in this country in any number whatever; they begin to taste too well the sweets of liberty to be the dupes of the French; they are now engaged at their harvest peacefully and it is a good one this year."

Those who thought of returning to France were given eighteen months to make up their minds, and Haldimand was sure that twenty would not depart from his government, nor even ten. He was justified in his confidence, for two women, two children and a servant were all that sailed away.

Burton arrived in the spring of 1763,[1] and Haldimand yielded to him the reins of government, returning to Montreal; but within a year he was back in Three Rivers, for there had been another change in commands. Sir Jeffrey Amherst's retirement promoted Gage to his place in New York, while Burton took that of Gage in Montreal. Murray was made governor-general, and that there was by this time good feeling established between him and Haldimand is witnessed by the latter's willingness to serve under him. The colonel's financial circumstances were such that it was necessary for him to retain some appointment if he wished to remain in America, and he calculated that he could

[1] See appendix A.

by his management of the St. Maurice forges save the king an amount equivalent to the pay of a lieutenant-governor. His economic abilities were highly appreciated at a time when the British ministry had discovered that the revenue from the whole of the colonies did not cover the cost of its collection, and that more stringent measures must be adopted for the suppression of contraband trade.

There were no fisheries at Three Rivers, but plenty of timber: pine suitable for masts on the north side of the river, oak on the south. The mainstay of the town, however, and the country round about it, was the trade with the Têtes de Boule, who every May or June came paddling down the St. Maurice with furs collected through the winter in the vast northern regions which it drains.

The ending of the war had increased the number of traders, and as competition became keener, some of them would slip quietly away up the river to meet the Indians coming down and secure their choicest furs at lowest rates. To this traffic Haldimand firmly put an end, proclaiming that the Têtes de Boule were to be allowed to bring their wares into the public market at Three Rivers. Notice of their arrival was given by the town crier, so that all the inhabitants might have an equal chance to trade, and the Indians run no risk of unfair treatment. The governor regulated also the distribution of ammunition and of liquor, allowing it only to traders he could trust to supply the aborigines.

It was a time for dealing cautiously with the savage tribes, because, as Murray remarked, "a truce with the Indians is always a summons to vigilance." They had not been consulted about the Treaty of Paris, nor had the English taken pains to preserve their friendship once the French rivalry was removed. One, called Pontiac, in the far west was demonstrating what could be done by a union against these white men whom they accused of usurping their rights. The Indians were slow to realize that France was no longer a leading power on the continent, and there were not wanting *coureurs de bois* to convince them that King Louis was but asleep, and would soon awake to drive the English back to the sea-board. Haldimand's only encounter with this spirit was among the Abenaquis of St. François, who demanded of him rights they had never before possessed; but he delayed replying to their petition until he should visit their village in person and make an effort to find out the Frenchmen whom he suspected of being at the bottom of the trouble.

The fear of a general Indian uprising was so great that the English became specially desirous of having a corps of three hundred French Canadians to serve with the regulars in order that the red men, seeing their former allies fighting under the banner of Great Britain, would be constrained to believe that the old régime had verily passed away. Montreal and Quebec were each asked to enlist

two companies, and Three Rivers one, who were to serve only for the campaign. They were to get twelve *piastres*[1] in silver and a *capot*, two pairs of moccasins and a pair of mittens, besides their food, arms and ammunition. The pay was to be sixpence a day, and a priest was to accompany the contingent; but the Canadians accustomed to serve for nothing under French rule, were suspicious of the offered terms, thinking that they were to be enlisted for life, or draughted off into the English colonies whence they would never return.

Colonel Haldimand doubted his ability to raise the sixty recruits required of him, and Burton was having difficulty in Montreal, but Murray was positive he could get 1,000 more than he wanted in Quebec. The governor-general told his lieutenants to draught men from the militia without scruple, though these were not supposed to be sent out of the province without the king's special command. It was comparatively easy to pick up a number of idle men in town, but the country people did not present themselves with the same alacrity. Burton had the best chance of recruiting, Montreal being full of *voyageurs* at that season, but in the end it was Haldimand only who completed his company in the allotted time by volunteers, who, he wrote, would be able to march as soon as the roads were practicable. He was even able to send to Quebec ten supernumeraries to

[1] See appendix B.

replace those General Murray had been obliged to press into the service.

The much talked-of corps never had a battle, and its members returned to their homes at the end of the summer quite satisfied with their treatment, but their enlistment had had the desired effect, since General Gage wrote on May 2nd, 1764:—"The news of the march of the Canadians has already astonished the savages, and Sir William Johnson says it will have a better effect to convince them of their folly than anything he can say or do that there is no assistance to be expected from that quarter. *Mais ne dites rien de tout cela en Canada.*" Gage's letters to Haldimand during this period are of increased importance, since the writer, as commander-in-chief, had his finger upon the public pulse in the English colonies. It was evidently beating high, and would beat higher still when the Pontiac uprising was finally quelled. Gage was pleased to learn that the Indians of the Three Rivers district disapproved of the conduct of their brethren in the upper country.

Writing to the British minister, Lord Halifax, about the same time, Haldimand said that his people were showing more assiduity and care in improving their lands than they had done for a considerable time, and he only wished some men who had studied agriculture would emigrate to the country and set an example. The Canadians, he continued, were so accustomed to being deceived

that they had little hope of the paper money given them before the conquest being ever redeemed, and were therefore all the more grateful to His Majesty's most gracious probity in that respect. He had kept warning them not to let their paper money go for little or nothing, as it would sometime be redeemed.[1]

In March, 1764, Gage wrote to Haldimand:— "Your friend, Colonel Bouquet, is here, and is very impatient to know what he is to do, which I can't tell him till the province of Pennsylvania shall finally determine whether they will grant supplies of men or not." By the month of May that province seems at length disposed to grant an aid of troops, but "all the Colonys are in great wrath that they are to pay their proportion of the expenses of State. They are all to be taxed by a vote of the British parliament, and will contribute to pay the Troops and Fleet on the American service." Later came the cheering news that Colonel Bouquet had won a couple of victories against the Indians at Bushy Run and been publicly thanked by the king, Haldimand hoped that the compliment would make his friend forget his exile, but a promotion that entailed further banishment proved fatal to the gallant Swiss. In 1765 Bouquet was made brigadier and placed in command of the southern district, with headquarters at Pensacola. There he died the next year, and Haldimand, his

[1] See appendix C.

heir and executor, mourned for him sincerely. The sole American link with his early life was broken.

When the year and a half limit after the Treaty of Paris had expired, and all the French indisposed to remain peaceably under British rule had presumably embarked for France, it was deemed time to yield to the number of English in the community, do away with military law and apply the ordinary civil code of the governing country.[1] M. Garneau, the modern French Canadian historian, voices the sentiments of his ancestors upon this change:—"Their king, by his sole authority, without parliamentary sanction, abolished those laws of olden France, so precise, so clear, so wisely framed, to substitute for them the jurisprudence of England —a chaos of prescriptive and statutory acts and decisions invested with complicated and barbaric forms, which English legislation has never been able to shake off, despite all the endeavours of its best exponents." This is strong language from the writer who has just been exclaiming against the martial system adopted in Canada by which its people were denied the rights of British subjects—but undoubtedly they were averse to changes of any description. Murray states that the Canadians had become reconciled not only to British rule, but to the military form of government, and now they saw their militia officers supplanted by lawyers, settlers and traders, who knew no French, insulted

[1] See appendix D.

the *noblesse* and hated the *habitants*. No wonder they considered themselves oppressed[1] by the introduction of civil government. On the other hand the English merchants sent to the king a petition against the tyranny of General Murray, and the seigneurs sent a counter petition praising the justice of his military rule.

There were not enough Protestants in the district of Three Rivers to make the requisite number of judges, and therefore in 1764, its government was temporarily divided between those of Quebec and Montreal. The St. Maurice on the north and the Godefroy on the south of the St. Lawrence formed the dividing line. General Gage complimented Haldimand on having chosen prudent and discreet justices of the peace who would ensure public tranquillity. "The other magistrates," he wrote, "seem to have thought they had power given them to tyrannize and distress rather than to do justice and see order put in the country. All the noise and misunderstanding are due to this."

Haldimand remarked that the busybodies who reigned at Quebec and Montreal were rendering the country every day more disagreeable, but the contagion had not yet reached Three Rivers. It came in time, and as the inconveniences of the situation increased, he became more and more anxious to turn his command over to the civil authorities and lead a quiet life elsewhere. On April 29th,

[1] See appendix E.

1765, he wrote to his superior officer, in French as usual:—"It would seem perhaps to be my fortune to stay in this country, but I have suffered from so many disagreements on the right hand and the left and I foresee so many more that I see myself forced to sacrifice my interest to my repose; if a neutral part be the most honest it is not the most advantageous in a place where one is almost sure to make enemies who become irreconcilable."

Gage was his very good friend and promised to see that he was reimbursed for the extraordinary expenses of his government, but still it was the summer of 1765 before he relieved him of his harassing command and granted him leave of absence to visit England.

The colonel had not been in good health during his last winter at Three Rivers and he was glad to seek a kindlier clime. Governor-General Murray wrote to him from Quebec in April, 1765, congratulating him on his promotion to the rank of brigadier and promising to issue grants of land for his nephew, Frederick, as soon as he knew those selected. But the grants were never needed because young Haldimand was drowned at Louisbourg in 1766. He was of age by that time, but the colonel's New York agent, Mr. Hugh Wallace, thought only of the boy who had come to America so full of hope and ambition seven years before, when he wrote:—"Very sorry I am for the unhappy fate of dear little Frederick, your nephew."

It was a great grief to the uncle, for his young kinsman had brought him "forward-looking thoughts." He had planned his exchange with Conrad Gugy, a Swiss who came to Quebec with General Wolfe and was Haldimand's secretary at Three Rivers, but had now turned land-owner. Gugy went to settle upon the fief he had bought at Machiche, and Frederick's commission as lieutenant was on its way out from England, when he met his death. Writing from London in June, Haldimand declared that since he left Canada he had lost what he held dearest—Bouquet and his nephew.

His personal advancement would be poor consolation, especially as he had asked to command in the northern district of North America and was sent to the southern instead. It was in December that he received the appointment and by the spring he was settled in his new abode.

The government house he had left at Three Rivers was turned into a barrack and his cherished mines were, in 1767, leased for sixteen years to Christopher Pelissier and others, by Sir Guy Carleton, General Murray's successor at Quebec.

CHAPTER V

SIX YEARS IN FLORIDA

BRIGADIER BOUQUET died at Pensacola of a broken heart, it was rumoured, since his lady love, Miss Willing, of Philadelphia, had taken unto herself a husband while her Swiss lover was off at the wars. He seems to have had a more emotional, impulsive temperament than Haldimand; he was given to fits of depression, which, aggravated by a trying climate, would be apt to open the way to disease. His friend, who deeply lamented his death, was appointed to the melancholy duty of occupying his place as commander of the southern district. The tomb that he caused to be built for Bouquet on the shore of Pensacola Bay has long since disappeared, the surrounding earth having been undermined by the waves rushing in from the Gulf of Mexico, while the bricks of which it was composed were probably stolen by Spanish marauders.[1]

[1] Extract from letter of R. L. Campbell, Pensacola, to Kingsford the historian: — "There is no sign above earth of a single one of the English population who must have died in Pensacola during the British rule of twenty years. Of their place of burial there is satisfactory evidence. It was situated on a bluff in the bay, not many feet above the water-level. The spot was gradually undermined by the waters of the gulf and towards 1870 several skeletons became exposed."

The Florida of that time was not only the peninsula which goes by the name to-day but included the counties next the gulf in the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, and its western boundary reached the Mississippi river. Originally a Spanish settlement, it had been handed over to England at the Treaty of Paris in exchange for Havana. Louisiana, on the west of the "Father of Waters," with indefinite northern boundaries, had been secretly transferred by France to Spain.

At Three Rivers Haldimand had governed a people recently brought under a new master, but they were of one nationality; now he was called upon to deal with Spaniards, French and newly-come Britons, of one mind only in their greed for gain. He was a man who never entered lightly upon new responsibilities, but believed in preparing himself, as far as it was possible, by securing advance information. In this case he took means to find out how the Spanish governor of Louisiana was treating the French; what were the annual exports and imports of New Orleans, and how much British trade was done there; the disposition of the French and Acadians towards the Spanish, and how the latter behaved to the Indians; the state of the boats at the different posts that would come under his control, and the general nature of the Floridan soil and productions. It was a flat sandy place, by all accounts, where oak and pine trees sheltered an abundance of game and wild animals.

Bouquet had died so soon after his arrival at Pensacola that his predecessor, Brigadier Taylor, had not taken his departure when Haldimand came on March 24th, 1767. The dilapidated appearance of the place was in keeping with the account Taylor gave of his squabbles with Governor Johnstone, whom he blamed for the non-erection of suitable accommodation for the troops, though there were no houses in which they could be quartered. Haldimand had reigned alone at Three Rivers and he was of the opinion that a military government would have been better in Florida where the French and Spanish could neither understand nor appreciate English civil law; but the governor was there and he must do his best to live at peace with him. This was not easy when he found the civil ruler installed within the fort in a house that had been yielded to him out of politeness by the military commander, as a temporary accommodation. Johnstone not only refused to move, but asked for a stockade to be built between his abode and the barracks. Haldimand had to find quarters for himself and his officers elsewhere and pay the exorbitant prices asked for them. Moreover, his presence in the fort led the governor to believe he was in command thereof, and being a man of violent temper, it was difficult to undeceive him. The people were often in doubt whom they should obey, and Haldimand was to have a siege of a most wearing kind—hard work under constant

unfriendly surveillance. But he set himself resolutely to the tasks before him which were multitudinous.

The fort was in a scandalous condition, the store houses for ammunition being made of material so combustible that by the least accident, or by treacherous Indians throwing in a burning arrow, the whole would be blown up. There was no hospital, though the soldiers sickened and died by scores, especially those who came in the summer season from the north, to find themselves removed from every convenience. A whole detachment from England was laid low at once with "putrid fever."

Haldimand blamed the water which was drawn from a neighbouring swamp, and he tried sinking wells, but without good results. Dr. Lorimer, whom he consulted persistently upon methods for improving the health of the troops, advised mixing rum with their drinking water, but General Gage, commander-in-chief at New York, objected on the score of economy, and said he knew also the evil effects of opening "a sluice of rum." He recommended the making of spruce beer instead, and sent kettles for the purpose, so that the air was soon odorous with sassafras; but Haldimand stuck to his opinion that rum was better for the soldiers in hot weather. If they did not get it pure in their supplies, they would poison themselves by drinking a variety made in New England to be had at the shops.

The Brigadier's progress in his work as well as his improvement in writing English is evidenced by a letter to Captain Ross of the 31st regiment, dated Pensacola, August 6th, 1767 :—

"Dear Sir,—I was favour'd with your kind letter of the 24th Mar. and heard with the greatest pleasure of your safe arrival in England where no doubt you will indemnify yourself for what pennence you have made here. I am much obliged to you for the newspapers you sent to Capt. Warlo for the bennifit of the garrison, we are in want of everything to comfort and amuse us, altho' our situation is much altered for the better you may immagine how I was surprised at my first entering this place to see the Misery people lived in, being pent within heigh rotten Palissados, built for Spanish convicts, deprived of air and particullarly of the Sea Breeze the only comfort nature seems to intend for this place. . . . We have in about tow months time removed the Stockade at a great distance, built Storehouses, enclosed a large piece of ground for gardens, built an hospital, magazines, Sheds, and begin a ditch to drain the swamps behind the town and bring fresh watter into the Garrison. . . . I whish you all joy and happiness, but don't forget your friends in distress."

Before the end of May the heat was so great that work had to be stopped in the middle of the day, but still it went on. Ninety-two in the shade could not blight the energy of a man like Haldi-

mand, and he had the satisfaction of seeing his soldiers improve in health through his betterment of their condition. They should, he thought, have fresh beef oftener, but pasturage was poor, and though an order had been issued against the exportation of cattle, the civil government was not strong enough to enforce it.

Batteaux and vessels of all kinds were in as bad condition as everything else; and repairs were expensive from the scarcity of all kinds of skilled labour. Five white carpenters were worth more than a whole squad of negroes who did "little and cost much." The best of them would not cut more than four cords of wood in a week and it was three dollars a cord, so it became a question whether it would not be cheaper to import coal. General Gage was constantly urging economy upon his subordinates, when flour in Florida was fourteen dollars a barrel and other things in proportion. The expense of Haldimand's living far exceeded his pay, but it vexed him more to see his soldiers running into debt for necessaries. They were completely at the mercy of the masters of vessels, who charged what they chose for their cargoes.

A ship laden with bedding for the troops and much-needed tools of all sorts, as well as provisions, was lost at sea, and the winter found the garrison at Pensacola ill-prepared to meet it. If the commander felt the cold as much as he had ever done in Canada, what must the privates have

suffered, sleeping on bare boards, with neither beds nor blankets, while the storms from the gulf threatened to blow their rotten barracks about their ears, and the winter rains beat upon their leaky roof?

One cause of dispute between Governor Johnstone and Brigadier Taylor had been a war with the Creeks, which the former favoured and the latter opposed, while Haldimand had difficulties of the same kind with Johnstone's successor. The military commander found it hard to please savages accustomed to the pomp of a civil governor coming among them laden with presents and holding a mimic court where the red men could gaze in wonder at his gorgeous escort. "These pleasure parties called Congresses," he wrote, "are held at an annual cost of thousands of pounds," and yet he was being censured for the amount of his expenditure in the public service. "Meanwhile I am ruinning myself in Expectation," he wrote to Captain Marsh, "and God knows if people don't imagine I am making monny; you know who tender I am upon this article, and I hope you will undeceive anybody who would entertain sush false notions, and let me know without flatery what they realy think of me and of my services . . . my chiny almost gone, want a supply of 24 comon plates and 6 small disches."

The governor wished to have new posts established for the benefit of himself and friends, and

argued that the Spaniards were doing the like upon the Mississippi, but Haldimand did not believe in taking up positions that could not be maintained, and was more disposed to evacuate forts he deemed useless, like those of Tombechbe, Bute and Natchez. He would rather open a road to Mobile, but Gage decided that was a work for the civil government.

The population of the town was increasing, folk being drawn thither by the hope of a Spanish trade, but many were doomed to disappointment. Pensacola had improved in health, but Mobile was still an hospital and Haldimand sent Dr. Lorimer there to report on the causes and suggest cures. The settlers who were being coaxed to come in must be advised upon the best means to prevent sickness, and warned against going inland to make trouble with the Indians.

The Chickasaws were a brave tribe, who would become good friends if the Spaniards let them alone, but the warlike Creeks and the treacherous Choctaws were best employed fighting one another, since both hated the English. Each complained that ammunition had been given to the other, and Haldimand had to exercise much diplomacy to keep himself from becoming embroiled with them.

The accounts of Florida sent northward had been far too flattering in respect to its facilities for agriculture. As for commerce, the people lacked enterprise, and the harbour was so full of worms it was useful only as a port of refuge. Nevertheless

Haldimand wrote Admiral Parry at Jamaica, asking him to come to Pensacola for the good of his health and saying that the country was not so bad as it had been represented. He sent him magnolia plants and seeds, and told him how delighted he would be to see his flag in the bay. To another friend Haldimand wrote that his district was no more unhealthy than any other southern colony, and need have no terrors for a temperate man. No doubt he was homesick sometimes, not for Switzerland only but for the many friends he had made since leaving it, and for the sort of life to which he was accustomed. His one comfort was his garden.

What a change from the flora of Canada to the semi-tropical vegetation of Pensacola! Haldimand had much pleasure in the success of his experiments, both with native plants and with seeds sent from New York, though many of the latter having come from England were too old for sprouting before they were put into the ground. The governor and council would have granted lands up to the glacis of every fort in Florida, but the brigadier claimed three square miles of open country to be left around each, and he had large gardens laid out for the use of the soldiers. He encouraged them also to raise crops, to fish and to keep chickens, thus providing a change from their salted food. The Indians brought wild turkeys and venison to the garrisons occasionally, but they demanded as much of other provisions in return.

A great believer in the civilizing power of agriculture, Haldimand wished to give ploughs and oxen to the Illinois and Natchez, instead of establishing among them the military posts which the Indian traders wanted for their own nefarious traffic, the cause of all disorders. In March came Spanish vessels bringing dye-wood, cotton, and other articles to trade, which revived the hopes of the merchants, but most of the Floridans were fonder of law-making than of soiling their fingers with indigo. A lazier set, Haldimand, with his thrifty Swiss rearing, had never encountered, and he spoke of the service as the most disagreeable he had yet experienced.

After the death of Frederick, he had asked his brother, Jean-Abraham, to let him have another of his sons, and accordingly Pierre Haldimand, a young man of twenty-two, joined his uncle at Pensacola during the summer of 1768. A commission was sought for him from General Gage, but six months later the brigadier wrote to the commander-in-chief, "the boy is sick and fears he cannot enter the service," while to the boy's brother, Antoine François, in England, he wrote that Pierre wished to return to London and might go into business. Meanwhile the lad was sent north where a correspondent of Haldimand described him as "a very discreet and prudent young man." He spent the winter of 1769-70 in Maryland, though his uncle would rather he had gone to Quebec, and to Canada he finally went, being placed in charge of

the seigniory at Pabôs which had been bought for his deceased elder brother.

Though the brigadier deplored being still in "this villainous country" as he called Florida, he was beginning to dread a return to the northern winter, but must have thought well of America, for he advised a cousin in London who had sent him a present of champagne to take up land on this side of the Atlantic rather than the other and promised him introductions all over the country should he see fit to come out.

Gage had written, "As for the Factions carrying on amongst the civil part of the Province, I hope they will not part the Military part who can't have much to do with their partys, and the King has lodged sufficient power with you to carry on the military service," but each new governor seemed to bring fresh trouble in his train. Haldimand wished to be empowered to accede to the request of Don Ulloa, the Spanish governor at New Orleans, for a cartel, if only to regain deserters, "vermin who may slip in among the Indians, and do harm." Most mortifying then was it to see the civil governor set off upon a mysterious embassy to the Louisianian capital, probably for the arrangement of this very matter. He called engineers and store-keepers to his council and clerks to his assembly, so that the military commander was left with but a minimum of power to carry out the improvements upon which his mind was bent.

Haldimand was disgusted with a service "so expensive and ill rewarded, where one is liable to be attacked by the malice of people more dangerous than wild beasts." He had been pressing his claims for a brigade and had hoped for different treatment, but Florida was out of the way and a man was apt to be overlooked who stayed there many years. To his friend Thomas Willing, in Philadelphia, he wrote of the country as "a Purgatory where we qualify ourselves for the happiness of leaving (sometime hereafter) amongst you I have patience, whishing sincerely it may be soon." But despite his own discomforts, he rejoiced in the better state of his garrison, which could soon claim to be as healthy as any on the continent. He belonged to an age when the individual counted for more than the machine gun. "I know the worth of a brave soldier," he said, "and think it one of my principal duties to preserve them to their country."

Gage declared that the keeping up of Fort Pensacola cost more than the whole of West Florida was worth, and there were constant disputes between governor and commander as to who should pay the piper. In his desire to make ends meet, the latter instructed Mr. Hugh Wallace, his New York agent, to mortgage his lands at Shipody, Nova Scotia, or to sell the seigniory of Pabôs; but neither could be done, and Haldimand was obliged to borrow £500 through his nephew in London, giving his house as security.

Brigadier Taylor was more fortunate in his command at St. Augustine where he too had a governor to fight against. A friendly intercourse was kept up between the two commanders, and, under date of April 28th, 1768, even Mrs. Taylor was honoured by an epistle in Brigadier Haldimand's quaint English:—"Captain Jenkins' return to St. Augustine furnishes me with the opportunity madam of presenting to you my respectful compliments and thanks for your kind remembrance. I flattered myself that I would be able to pay them in person as soon as the Court Martial should be over, but other unavoidable business detains me here and will oblige me to visit the Lakes, and perhaps the Mississippy, so that I could only trust upon our appointment at cannon hill where I sincerely whish to find Mrs. Taylor in perfect health and happily returned amongst her friends. The pilgrimage we undergo in this new and disagreeable part of the World will qualify us the more for the enjoyment of Old England. Mrs. Pylot tells me she wright you a long letter with all the news of this place, Mrs. Indy good fortune will surprize and please you, and you will be at a loss Madam to form an Idea of her Conqueror. I hope Haldi behaves well and is faithfull to you, if not I beg you will give him another name for fear he should give you a false impression of my way of thinking. Captain Jenkins will tell you Madam how Roses familly is taken care of and how it has increased. 14 are born

within this ten days all very pretty, I purpose sending them all to you by the 1st opportunity, he will likewise give you a description of our farms and gardens, of the success of a silk manufaction I have established here, etc., but I must apprays you Madam that he being very partial in favour of East Florida, great allowance is to be made on our side, at my return from the Mississippy I will take the liberty to give you the description of that Paradys; many people are going thither with the Lieut.-Governor at their head, all expecting to form large estates but only a few have money to begin with. Give me leave Madam to assure you of my sincere whishes for the success of all that may contribute to your happiness, having the honour to be with respect Madam your most obedient humble servant."

He was quite a ladies' man in a courtly, dignified fashion that appealed to gentlewomen like Mrs. Gage, to whom he often sent compliments and thanks for apples or other favours received. In a letter to Captain Ross, of August 10th, he notes the arrival of a Mr. Blackwell at Pensacola whose wife is a pleasant addition to a small society:—"Half a dozen more such agreeable ladies would enable us to form an Assembly and sometimes to forget our situation, but at present, having so few objects to divert our minds, we are apt to represent this place much worse than it is." Another lady, Mrs. Moultrie, remembers him "with great pleasure and esteem," and of still another he writes, "my best

respects and thanks to Mrs. Sowers for the large Collection of Good Pickels she was so kind as to send me. It would give pleasure had I anything to present worth her acceptance in return, but what can a poor West Floridan offer more than good Wishes which he sincerely prays may constantly attend you. P.S. I thank you for the Reeding glass it answers werry well and if you'll be so good to appley to Mr. Hugh Wallace he will pay for it."

He found the Spaniards troublesome neighbours, with designs upon the British forts on the Mississippi. The French hated their rule and there was much dissatisfaction at New Orleans of which the brigadier was advised to take advantage by luring French settlers into Florida, the only hope for that country. It would be greatly to the advantage of the English if they could make an entrance to the Father of Waters without passing New Orleans, and one of Haldimand's projects was to see if the purpose could not be effected by deepening the Iberville river and joining it with a canal to the Mississippi. He went on a voyage of inspection in person with Mr. Sowers, the engineer.

Any day it was expected that Louisiana might rise in revolt against Spain to place herself under British protection, and the commander at Pensacola was just the man to be on the alert for such a contingency; but in the meantime his orders from Gage were to have as little as possible to do with New Orleans. According to a modern American historian,

the survey Haldimand caused to be made of the Mobile river and bay is "the most important act of the British occupation of Florida that has come down to us."

There was a great outcry among the inhabitants of West Florida when it was decided to remove nearly all the troops to St. Augustine, though the evacuation of the outposts was explained to the Indians as being for their advantage. The lives and properties of the settlers were in no danger, but they preferred to make money out of the soldiers rather than till their lands, of which not fifty acres were under cultivation, though the soil was excellent a short distance inland. The people of Pensacola sent a petition to the king, entreating him not to ruin his "Emporium of the West," but the soldiers went to St. Augustine nevertheless. There was even talk of taking them to Charleston to be ready for a sudden call northwards in case Boston should continue the agitation over the Stamp Act, but two regiments from Ireland were sent to New England instead.

Before leaving Pensacola, Haldimand paid a visit to New Orleans, ostensibly for the purpose of disposing of provisions not to be taken with the troops, and it is also on record that he bought a negro slave who escaped and was returned to him in irons; but no doubt his chief aim was to see for himself the state of affairs between the French and the Spaniards. A few weeks later it culminated in a

revolution, Don Ulloa was banished and the French flag raised. The Mexican method, it appeared, would not do for Frenchmen, and Haldimand contrasted Spain's attempt to govern the people of a different nationality most unfavourably with England's, instancing the French Canadians, who he said were thoroughly contented and learning to speak the language of their conqueror.

It had been decided to erect barracks at St. Augustine, with bricks from Charleston, S.C., "the best on the continent," but when Haldimand realized the scarcity of labour he judged it might be better to have them built of wood in New York or New Jersey and sent to St. Augustine ready to be put up. He bought a farm in that district and called it *Mon Plaisir*, but he was ordered back to Pensacola within a year and it was left in charge of a soldier and his wife who sowed corn but reaped none and did not raise fowls enough to pay for their feed. "A master's eye often does more than twenty other eyes and hands besides," his correspondent wrote, but his indigo planting proved a success and gained a better price at a London sale than that from Carolina. Finally a Prussian officer was settled on *Mon Plaisir*.

General Gage was concerned about the revolution in Louisiana, and in the spring of 1769, ordered the brigadier to inform himself upon the best methods of attacking that country. It would be easy to conquer at present, Haldimand answered,

though Spain could protect it with 500 or 600 troops if the inhabitants who knew the country were her friends, but they were not, and would gladly embrace British rule. By November of that year, however, the Spaniards had sent reinforcements to New Orleans under Count O'Reilly, and a counter revolution was effected. Haldimand's 3,000 men were no more than were necessary to keep the peace within the borders of Louisiana, but Gage deemed it advisable to send Haldimand back to take up the deserted posts in West Florida, though that officer maintained the fleet to be the best protection of British interests.

It was in February, 1770, that Haldimand once more made Pensacola his headquarters, dividing his troops between that post and Mobile. St. Augustine had been a livelier place, if one may judge by the concerts, assemblies and private dancing parties given there, though an officer writing to Haldimand after he had left declared that they now lived like hermits and prayed for the return of some of his company that they might not utterly lose themselves in the fields of indigo and rice that had sprung up with astonishing rapidity. Haldimand was advised to sell out his northern property, invest in negroes and turn planter in East Florida, but West Florida was again his lot, with its troublesome civil governor.

The brigadier had the strongest objections to building a new government house within the fort

though Gage had said, the precedent having been established, it would be hard to find a governor who would live anywhere else. Haldimand and Chester wrangled about it until the king sent orders that the house was to be built, when Haldimand did it with a good grace, and in the end made a friend of the governor, practically yielding him the command of the fort and retaining to himself only the direction of the troops.

It was at length decided that the long-talked-of barracks should be built at Pensacola, and besides preparing plans for them, Haldimand busied himself improving the defences of the harbour, till he declared that when he obtained the extra field-pieces he wanted they would be the strongest on the continent. In a letter marked *secret and confidential* Gage told him that war with Spain was impending and Louisiana must be the first point of attack; to which Haldimand replied that it would not be hard to take New Orleans and suggested the best means to be adopted.

Rumours of war continued throughout the next winter and in March the West Floridan commander was warned to be on his guard against invasion either from Louisiana or from the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, but by May the scare was over though the brigadier judged the calm to be only temporary. Spain did recover her ancient colony of Florida in 1781, but by that time Haldimand had been removed to far different scenes.

While in Canada Haldimand had had little or no occasion to speak English, but his knowledge of the language was much increased during his stay in Florida, though he still corresponded in French with General Amherst, to whom, on March 12th, 1773, he wrote from Pensacola as follows:—"During the sixteen years that I have been in this country, I have always been employed in services exacting expenses which exceeded my revenues; however, sir, I assure you I have never drawn any advantage from the service beyond my pay; I have despised and I hope that I always will despise all other advantage of whatever nature it may be; you may judge from this, sir, that my situation is not easy; and that as those who have supported me awaited this epoch to be reimbursed for the advances they have made me, I am left with no other resource than to place myself in a retreat where, by sustained economy, I shall have power to begin to pay my debts."

But the English ministry, whatever other mistakes it might make, valued the services of an honest man and refused to dispense with those of Frederick Haldimand.

CHAPTER VI

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT NEW YORK

WHEN General Gage obtained leave of absence and went to England for a year to attend to his private affairs, he recommended Haldimand as his successor to the command at New York, and his advice, joined to that of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, was accepted by the British ministry, though Lord Barrington informed Haldimand he owed his promotion to the king alone. A ship was despatched to Florida to bring northward the new major-general, a naturalized British subject, and colonel commandant of the 2nd battalion of his old regiment, now the 60th foot. He was welcomed by an officer's guard on landing, while a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the fort. Haldimand hated parade of any kind, but Gage had left instructions that he was to be received with due ceremony, it being necessary at that time to omit none of the customary means for upholding the honour of the Crown.

Bronzed with his six years in Florida, satisfied with the work he had done there, but pleased to escape another summer in the south, the general, now a man of fifty-five, found himself fronting difficulties of far greater magnitude than those he had left behind him, though they did not appear so

at the first. All this commotion over paying a trifling tax upon tea could not appeal to the sympathy of a Swiss soldier of fortune whose youth had been spent in lands where the people were taxed as a matter of course for the prosecution of wars in which they had no interest except that their strong young men were taken away, to be returned maimed and helpless, or not at all.

Frederick Haldimand was no democrat. He saw the British colonists already grown rich and prosperous beyond the middle classes of any European country he knew, and he could echo the opinion of Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts:—"The prevalence of a spirit of opposition to government in the plantation is the natural consequence of the great growth of colonies so far remote from the parent state, and not the effect of oppression in the king or his servants, as the promoters of this spirit would have the world to believe."

Whatever the cause, the ferment was there, and six months after the change of command at New York it came to a head in Boston on December 16th, 1773, when a band of sixty men, half of them disguised as Mohawks, went on board three vessels, burst open 380 chests of tea, which they flung into the harbour. This "Indian caper" Haldimand believed was not generally approved by the people of Massachusetts. Plymouth had sent in a strong protest against the proceedings and many were of the opinion that the city should pay the East

India Company for the tea. He decided it was not his duty to enforce acts of parliament, and resolved to look on in silence at the "follies of a spoiled and ignorant people" till the civil power called upon him to interfere, when he would do so in accordance with the constitution. Such were his instructions from the British minister, who praised his temper and prudence in not placing the tea under the protection of the soldiery, as it might have been the cause of contention between populace and military.

Lord Dartmouth was striving merely to enforce the principle of the supremacy of parliament. Once acknowledged, he was willing to let it be ignored, and to give the Americans all the liberty they craved; but there were in the cabinet others less wise, headed by King George himself, weak and stubborn, bent upon asserting his own authority and putting an end to "unwarrantable pretensions in the colonies." Haldimand had written to England, stating his doubts upon the wisdom of closing the port of Boston, and anticipating the effect of isolating that city. As he had foretold, the other provinces drew closer to Massachusetts, and the first step towards a general union was taken. The same mail that brought news of the government's intentions concerning refractory Boston brought private letters disapproving of the same, from men of character and property in the mother country, thus confirming the Americans in their "chimerical ideas." The military authorities, doing their best to

avoid an open rupture, were not encouraged in their thankless task by the receipt of newspapers from London voicing a popular sympathy with the movement against colonial taxation, nor by the tone of the local press, which grew every day bolder and more independent.

There had been no strong feeling in New York against the landing of the tea consigned there until Boston set the example, but now the whole town was on the *qui vive* over what was to happen when the ships should arrive at the Hook. Luckily for Haldimand, they were kept away by contrary winds till he had time to receive his instructions. "Happy will be this Province," he wrote, "if it can avoid the imprudence of its neighbours."

It was a time of hoping for the best and preparing for the worst. The commander-in-chief was the type of man who could remain unmoved in the midst of turmoil and dissension. He showed no anxiety, refused to change the disposition of his troops, but quietly saw that the artillery and stores were put in a place of safety at Governor's Island. His appearance, tall, stately and handsomely dressed, as he rode about the town or drove in his carriage was enough to inspire with confidence the wavering loyalists who could rest assured that no mob would ever gain the upper hand in New York so long as General Haldimand commanded the troops. He had his own private troubles, apart from those of the provinces. Not the least of these was his

financial embarrassment. This was no time to economize in anything that supported the dignity of his position, and he found his expenses mounting far higher than he had expected. Florida had been a dear place of residence, but it had not been essential to keep up the same style of living there as in New York. He was sure that neither king nor ministry wished him to ruin himself in the performance of his duties, but it was exceedingly difficult for a proud man and a foreigner to appeal upon such a subject to men who were engrossed and perplexed with matters of so much larger import. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, a rich man, had not charged the government for his firing and lodging while in New York, though his predecessors had done so, and his successors could not afford to be so liberal. By selling some of his property in Maryland, Haldimand gained temporary financial relief.

It was during this year, 1773, that he paid a visit to his relatives in Pennsylvania, whether the first or not it is impossible to state. Jacob Haldeman (1722-1783), his cousin, like himself a lineal descendant of Honnête Gaspard, though not born in America, had been there for fifteen years when Frederick came out. Jacob had owned land in Rapho township, Lancaster county, since 1741, when he would be but nineteen years of age. According to tradition the general proposed taking one of his cousin's sons with him to New York, but the offer was refused, perhaps from political reasons, since the

Pennsylvania Haldemans were prominent on the popular side.

The general contented himself with advancing the sons of his younger brother, Jean Abraham, "burgess of Yverdun, merchant and banker of Turin," who had seven sons and one daughter. Of these Antoine François (1741-1817), the London merchant, was the eldest, and Louis Haldimand perhaps the youngest. At any rate, while endeavouring to interest General Amherst in 1773, the uncle remarks that "Louys," "who was born since I came to America," is now sixteen years of age. The general probably recommended military schooling in England, for the arrival of the lad from Switzerland was noted the next year, and in the following spring Sir Jeffrey wrote that Ensign Haldimand had made good progress in the academy, bore an exceedingly good character, and should go to his uncle. A month later a passage was taken for Louis to America, and the general must have been eager to see him, as a correspondent in London had written: "He is so exceedingly well-looked, and from every appearance is what you could wish. There is a smartness in his air not unlike the brother that I knew." Uncle and nephew may have passed one another on the Atlantic, since the general was in London by the time the ensign arrived in Boston.

Having had experience of the disagreeable friction so common between civil and military authorities,

the commander-in-chief was careful to keep on good terms with Governor Tryon, whose vanity he criticizes in a letter to Gage. There was sufficient occasion for quarrelling as the governor more than once requested troops to be sent where the general deemed it unnecessary, and the former wagered that he would have his way. "Brag is a good dog, but Holdfast is a better" Tryon discovered when he had Haldimand to deal with. The soldiers were not marched off to quell Indian disturbances upon the frontiers for which the colonists were to blame, nor were they despatched against the New Hampshire rioters, who disputed the rights of settlers from New York on the east side of Lake Champlain. In a letter to Governor Tryon dated September 1st, 1773, the commander gave his reasons:—"I have just received the honour of your letter of this day's date, with the minutes of the Council therewith sent, on which I beg to make the following observations. That in the present circumstances of affairs in America, it appears to me of a dangerous tendency to employ Regular Troops where there are Militia Laws and where the Civil Magistrates can at any time call upon its trained inhabitants to aid and assist them in the performance of their office, and the execution of the Laws in force against Rioting, and for the protection of the lives and property of His Majesty's subjects. That the idea that a few lawless Vagabonds can prevail in such a Government as that of New York, as to

oblige its governor to have recourse to the Regular troops to suppress them, appears to me to carry with it such reflection of weakness as I am afraid would be attended with bad consequences, and render the authority of the Civil Magistrate, when not supported by troops, contemptible to the Inhabitants." The king himself supported the general's view and gave orders that the regulars were not to be called out except in cases of absolute and unavoidable necessity.

In his own elevation Haldimand did not forget the hardships of those above whom he had risen. In one of his first letters to the ministry after his appointment at New York, he asked that the pay allowed for Crown Point and Fort Pitt, both destroyed, might be given to the commanding officers in Florida, but the request was refused. His old comrades in arms must have been gratified, however, by the active interest of the commander-in-chief, his pleasure at the news of harmony existing at length between them and the civil authorities, his desire that recruiting parties should be sent to England to fill the gaps in their ever-thinning ranks, and they became the more anxious to carry out his orders for the speedy and economical completion of the works he had planned at Pensacola. Florida was not so forlornly out of the world since Haldimand had departed thence to the head of affairs.

Whatever may have been his personal opinion of

Governor Tryon, it did not influence his conduct. As that gentleman journeyed northward, the general sent instructions to the officers in command at Albany and Montreal to treat him with fitting honour, and give him all the assistance in their power. When the governor's house in New York was burned by rioters on almost the last night of the year 1773, and he himself was forced to return to England, the commander-in-chief gave a grand farewell ball in his honour.

Dancing and feasting went on in the city though there was trouble enough brewing beneath the surface there, and much of it always in evidence at the outposts. Haldimand had seen much of the Indians both in the west and south, and was disinclined to believe in the stories told of their unprovoked attacks upon the frontiers. When he heard of two Georgia families having been slain by the Creeks he was almost certain that other settlers were at fault, and wished that he could visit the locality himself for investigation. It was ever his impulse to obtain a thorough personal knowledge upon every subject before forming an opinion, but as he rose in his profession he was obliged to become more dependent upon the testimony of others. A commander-in-chief could not leave his post and move about the country with the unceremonious ease of a subaltern. He knew that Indian disorders were chiefly caused by the determination of settlers to push their way into Indian territory

though they should leave miles of uncultivated country in the rear, and he knew too that the eagerness of the south for troops arose from the desire to make money out of them. So he declared that the provinces of Virginia and Georgia must protect their own borders, as the whole of their frontier inhabitants were not worth an Indian campaign.

To take the side of the Indian was not a common trait among British commanders at that time, and Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, wrote the general an extremely sharp letter, blaming him for having told Lord Dartmouth, without consulting him, about the outrages upon some Indians in his province who had killed several white vagabonds. It was hard to please everyone, but so far as can be judged by his correspondence, Haldimand had a sincere desire to deal justly and to act rightly towards all men.

His abilities were well tested in helping to decide what should be done about the settlers at Post Vincennes and on the Illinois, a subject that Lords North and Dartmouth found embarrassing in the extreme. They did not think the pioneers in those parts should be driven from their homes for want of a suitable government, but it was not so easy to determine what form that government should take. A memorial was presented to Haldimand by some of the inhabitants requesting the establishment of civil rule, which, however, part of the people did

not want, and he himself was of the opinion that a military government was better than none. By the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774, the boundaries of that province were extended so as to include the whole of the territory in question—from the northern and western borders of Pennsylvania, thence along the Ohio to the Mississippi. The establishment of French law and the Roman Catholic religion over so large a tract of country, was naturally displeasing to the British colonists, both east and west, but the settlers from Canada were satisfied, particularly those about Vincennes, who were also relieved to know that too close enquiry was not to be made into the titles of their lands acquired from the Indians.

"A perfect judge of every military matter," Haldimand was called, but his sympathy with soldiers never interfered with his sense of justice, and he directed that misdemeanours escaping the notice of the civil law should not on that account evade the military. That the civil law could be sufficiently severe is testified by the punishment meted out to a deserter found guilty of burglary. He was cropped, whipped, branded on the forehead, and then turned over to the military authorities, who would probably shoot him. Truly the common soldier of that day had no easy punishment if he transgressed, as some of the records of courtmartial bear witness. Five hundred lashes were meted out to the man who stole wampum from an Indian, and

1,000 apiece to some rioters of the Royal Americans. When a soldier received 500 lashes for firing at a deer or a pigeon without orders, he could imagine the extent of his punishment should he venture to fire at a human being before the word of command was given; but it must have been desperately hard for many a high-spirited private to endure with patience the insults and bodily injury often inflicted by city rioters without having recourse to the retaliation within his power. A discipline of lashes is not calculated to develop the finer feelings of men, and when the hands of these were unloosed by actual war, they were apt to revenge past wrongs upon nearest heads, though innocent.

General Murray writing from tranquillity in Mahor, expresses his horror of civil war and is sure that Haldimand does not intend to settle American troubles by force of arms, there being so much more glory to be gained by a conference than by a battle. He sends a present of olives and anchovies to his old friend whose honourable conduct while in Canada had made the deepest impression and should ever make him wish for further opportunities of showing his affectionate regard. Gage too, safe in England out of the turmoil, wrote upon the all-important subject of the tea that "had put the whole continent in commotion." He hoped it might be introduced at least into one province from which the others could be supplied and the smugglers undersold. Haldimand's reply (in French) dated

New York, May 4th, 1774, reads:—"I am charmed, sir, to see by your last letter that the affairs of the House will be examined by both chambers of parliament. I await with impatience what the result will be and it is very fortunate that you will be at hand to explain the difficulties that present themselves in a country where the laws have lost their force and where one can find no magistrate who is willing to support the dignity of the law and help the military. I understand well the evil consequences caused by precipitate measures among a nation always given to blaming the military."[1]

When the long-delayed tea ships came sailing into the harbour of New York in the month of May, fancying their tedious voyage was ended, they were sent sailing out again, and one captain who had landed eighteen chests with his other cargo, had the chagrin of seeing them made into a bonfire upon the shore. The governor had agreed to protect the unloading with the militia, but when the time came he was afraid to entrust the duty to them, having been told that they had agreed among themselves that the tea should not be landed. For

[1] Haldimand's private diary, January 17th, 1786:—"When General Paterson set out for Boston, he had express orders from the minister to report the state of things. He did so without reserve. The letter was shown to the King, who, preoccupied with what General Gage had told him, paid no attention to that letter, saying that Mr. Gage having spent so long a time in America must know that country and the character of the inhabitants better than General Paterson." The latter had been present when Gage "told the King (speaking of Boston) that he had sufficient troops to bring these people to reason."

this the commander-in-chief thought they should be disbanded. A staunch lover of law and order, he blamed all that was done upon the "mob" and was ever ready to believe that the respectable portion of the inhabitants was upon the king's side. In his opinion firmness only was needed to bring the wayward back to their duty.

In April Gage wrote that the people of Boston had at length tired out their strongest friends. As a native born Briton it was considered best that he should resume the chief command, now that war seemed inevitable, but Haldimand was to remain on his staff as major-general. He continued in charge at New York during the summer of 1774, while Gage was in Boston.

Exactly two years before the virtual declaration of independence Haldimand wrote to his superior officer that there was popular talk of the colonies forming a general congress, and hoped that government would take steps to interfere, but government was powerless in the matter and the congress became an accomplished fact. Deputies from all quarters collected at Philadelphia, those from the south arriving in carriages drawn by six horses, quite in oriental style, and there ensued the passing of what Haldimand called "disagreeable resolutions."

General Gage was given a brilliant reception upon his return to Boston but he would have preferred more evidence of submission to authority.

It did not look promising to find the governor, chief justice and many of the leading citizens quartered at the island fortress, Castle William, where they had taken refuge from the fury of the mob. Mr. Adams had threatened the tarring and feathering of those who dared to sign the address of welcome to the general, and the assembly had applied for a fast instead of a feast.

The New Yorkers, Gage hoped, would not be fools enough to bring about the closing of their port also, as they knew what it meant, and a few weeks would probably suffice to bring the Bostonians to their senses. The "hot-headed gentlemen" of Virginia had been passing some treasonable resolutions in their assembly, but these were not likely to affect the north. On July 3rd he wrote to his major-general:—"I rejoice that you conduct yourselves with so much discretion at New York, and that Philadelphia inclines to follow your example," while Haldimand wished Gage were as fortunate in his surroundings.

There had been a burning of Lord North in effigy at New York, despite the mayor's efforts at prevention, but no serious results were feared beyond the further encouragement to Boston. Everywhere there was talk of calling upon the troops for aid, but Haldimand hoped rebellious action might be avoided, though it was daily expected in Massachusetts, and unless the first uprising were promptly crushed, the worst effects were to be feared in

the other colonies. Already the stubborn Bostonians had been joined by the people of Connecticut, and erelong New York was threatened with absorption into the New England States, if she refused to join them, since Virginia purposed to be one of two republics, with the Delaware for her northern boundary.

Once upon a time, no further back than 1766, bands had been forbidden to play upon the city streets while passing a church during public worship, but now there was no peace to be found even within the congregations. The Episcopalians and the Presbyterians fell to wrangling that summer, but as Haldimand assured Gage both were equally opposed to government, the latter hoped it was true that they had had a battle, though it was no great matter which party won. These sects were safest employed in fighting one another, like the Creeks and Choctaws, whose wars Gage regarded as a blessing in disguise "since they would never bear with the behaviour of our people."

The state of public affairs made property holders exceedingly anxious, and Haldimand being one, he wrote to his friend, Thomas Willing, of Pennsylvania, to ask if his grants in that province had been taken up. Willing, he observes, seems to harbour ill-feeling towards the mother country, but for himself he has only regret "for the rash enthusiasm of his neighbours on the north, and fears that this fine continent will be plunged into civil war,

through their imprudent conduct preventing what moderation, equity and temper are more likely to obtain."

In view of the threatened non-importation, the general asks Mr. Willing to be kind enough to send him another pipe of the excellent Madeira he spared before, and had he known old Omar he might have added,

> "Waste not your Hour, nor in the vain pursuit
> Of This and That endeavour and dispute;
> Better be jocund with the fruitful Grape
> Than sadden after none, or bitter Fruit."

CHAPTER VII

FROM NEW TO OLD ENGLAND

BY the middle of September things were looking very serious indeed for General Gage in Boston, there having been a county-meeting at Suffolk whereat it was resolved that obedience was owed to the king only so long as he kept his part of the contract in preserving the chartered rights. There was a general call to arms in defence of these, cannon had been taken for the Charleston Battery, and the New Englanders believed that they alone could fight old England, since they could not count upon the support of New York or Philadelphia.

"All who will not promise to join and contribute, or are obnoxious to the demagogues are drove into Boston, where many from comfortable homes have little ready money and are in great distress," wrote Gage to Haldimand. The passage of the Quebec Act, confirming the French Canadians in the use of their language, laws and religion had been a cause of offence to the New England clergy, who affirmed that the king and his general were both Roman Catholics. It was no easy task to keep so large a body of troops within the bounds of civil law, but Gage was determined "to wait till we receive the first blow, that no act of ours may serve to

encourage rebellion by giving it the name of defence."

He was impatient for the arrival of his major-general, whom he had summoned, not only for the reinforcement of his troops, but for the support of his presence and advice. Haldimand's departure from New York was delayed by the difficulty of securing transports, owing to the ill-will of the people, and the autumn was well advanced before he joined his chief. They spent the winter together in the hot-bed of rebellion, and hoped at times for a reaction in public sentiment, though they were not encouraged by the belated news that reached them from London of how American affairs were viewed by the king and his ministers. In an era preceding the steamship and the telegraph it was impossible for the best intentioned government to keep abreast of events in distant colonies, and the orders sent to its servants in command were often found to be inapplicable to existing conditions at the time they were received.

Congress sitting at Concord passed resolutions stamped with bravado, in Haldimand's opinion, but the New York assembly was being hard pressed to agree with them, and Maryland and Pennsylvania had already ordered 100,000 men to be armed against the government. Each side was determined not to strike the first blow, and the British generals sat with folded hands, surrounded by rebels drilling for war. But it was some satisfaction to know that their

own troops were behaving well in spite of much provocation.

Haldimand wrote to Amherst that "the evils threatened proceed from Great Britain which has nothing to gain by the struggle." While Sir Jeffrey was flattering himself that the news from America was so favourable, that the people would "return to their duty and avoid the necessity of using force," force had actually been used, and Haldimand was reported to have been killed in the skirmish at Lexington, on April 19th. As a matter of fact he was not there at all, nor did he know anything of the battle till he heard of it from the barber who came to shave him. In a letter to Captain Holland, which that gentleman displayed in New York, and which was much commented upon, Haldimand openly disclaimed all responsibility for the affair at Concord.

He was more concerned about the property he had left behind in New York, now that all friends of government had left the city and mob rule seemed to be paramount. Being the sort of man who collected an establishment about him wherever he went, he had had a house of his own for his short term in New York, horses, poultry, and of course a garden. On his removal to Boston a gardener was left in charge who being given to liquor presented no formidable front to the encroachments of would-be plunderers, and the general's friends wrote him that everything he owned was being stolen or destroyed. This was unpleasant news for a gentleman

who had a womanish fondness for his possessions. He was not even flattered to learn that the rebel commander-in-chief had shown appreciation of his taste in residences. "Washington has taken up his summer quarters at your house on Richmond Hill."

Haldimand was perturbed too about the fate of his good house in Pensacola that he hoped to sell for a governor's residence, if the populace would spare it till time showed whether or not there were to be any more royal governors.

Once the hope of a peaceful settlement of affairs was dispelled, the general's letters took a sterner tone. "Yield" was not a word in his vocabulary. He had been reared in a rigorous school and all his life never learned to give way except in matters that concerned only himself. No palliative public measures for him; they but indicated weakness, and he congratulated the ministry that the necessity for nipping American treason in the bud had arisen at a time when their hands were comparatively free from European complications. He suggested the employment of the proffered Russian troops, if England had not enough of her own, to abolish the New England governments, and recommended the closing of all the ports from Halifax to Florida, so as to stop exportation entirely and set up the country against the towns. Though Boston had begun the trouble, he considered Philadelphia even more obstreperous and warned the government that its colonies were becoming more dangerous

than a hostile foreign power. No doubt he often pictured to himself what Frederick the Great would do under the circumstances, but he was now in the service of George the Little, from whom no Cromwellian measures were to be expected.

General Gage was now more than sixty years old and had never been of an active temperament. Since hostilities had actually commenced, he was likely to retire, in which case the chief command would again devolve upon Haldimand. The ministry, preferring to have a natural born subject, recalled the Swiss general in the summer of 1775. He left Boston at short notice and it was rumoured he was leaving the service for good, whereat the sentiment of the soldiers was expressed in the letter of one subordinate to another:—"The regret and good wishes of ye whole army follow him, his experience, his great abilities, his integrity and disinterestedness will never be forgot by them."

Surely it was a welcome change from the hard winter in Boston where he had been reviled and pointed at as one of the "boiled crabs" whose presence affronted a liberty-crazed populace, to return to London in the month of June, there to be heartily thanked by the king and his ministers for the skilful execution of his late arduous duties. Sir Jeffrey Amherst wrote to Anthony Francis Haldimand in London, asking to be immediately informed of his uncle's arrival in order that he might come up to town from the seaside to

interview him before he made his bow to the king.

At court and in the drawing-rooms of the great the general was equally well received. America was on every man's tongue and there was none who did not eagerly seize an opportunity of hearing the very latest about those incomprehensibly strong-willed colonists from one who had just returned from living among them. His advice was asked officially also and it would not tend to incline the ministry towards conciliation. Who knows what the effect might have been upon the measures adopted and upon the ultimate result of the whole contest had Haldimand, who spoke with authority, given different counsel? But that was impossible for a man of his character and upbringing. His private belief was that Chatham was the one statesman who could have satisfactorily surmounted the difficulties, but now it was almost too late to hope for a pacific settlement. The change of rule in America, sooner or later, was as inevitable as the change of seasons, or as the breaking away from the nest of a covey of young ducks as soon as they can swim alone in rough water. That Canada did not break off too was evidence merely that she was not of the same brood, but a foundling in the flock, slower in growth, an ugly duckling that might one day turn out to be a swan.

Haldimand had an easy and enjoyable life for the next three years and was in no haste to accept

further commands abroad. In September, 1775, he was appointed inspector-general of the forces in the West Indies, but as there is no record of his ever having gone there, the office was doubtless a sinecure. Some indemnity was owing to him for his ill-paid services in America, of which Lord George Germaine, the new colonial secretary, sent a summary to Lord Barrington, stating that Haldimand had been subjected to great expense the year he was in New York and had received no additional pay. He had gone to Boston and set up an establishment there, thinking he was to stay, and his expenditure had not been "wantonly incurred by means of an empty or unnecessary parade," but was unavoidable in his position. When recalled, he had left the bulk of his effects behind him, including two houses, one in Boston and one in New York, for which he would have to pay rent in the spring. It was bad enough to be taken away from the scene of action without having "very considerably impaired his fortune."

The war office at once awarded £3,000 to Haldimand in acknowledgment of his financial outlay as commander-in-chief, and on January 1st, 1776, he was promoted to the rank of general in America, and lieutenant-general in the whole army. To a man whose profession was the chief thing in life these honours must have been exceedingly gratifying and they would serve to inspire him with a still more ardent desire to serve the Crown. Of the

British nation as a whole he knew but little. The language and constitution were alike foreign to him and he was unfitted to read aright the signs of the times either in England or America, but that did not prevent him from making warm friends among the men with whom he came in contact, both in higher and lower positions than his own.

With all the entertainment and lionizing he received, his mind could not immediately detach itself from the drama in which he had taken a leading part, and the American mails would be of supreme importance. They brought letters from Wallace, his New York agent, telling of the affair of June 17th, near Charleston, of the resolutions passed in congress which bordered on a declaration of war, of the loss at Bunker's Hill, of the want of energy displayed by General Gage, the massing of provincial troops in rebellion and the report that General Haldimand was to return to the scene of action in command of a large body of mercenaries from Hanover.

More interesting still were the letters of Major Hutcheson, his late secretary, who wrote from Boston, not long after Haldimand's departure:—

"There are a number of your friends of the Lower rank of officers Remember you with the greatest Respect and Esteem, and I wish every General Officer who may leave this country may be as truly Respected and their absence as much regretted. I hope, Sir, you will not forget pushing

early for some reward for your long and faithfull Services. The promises of the great are not to be depended on and the sooner you are independent of them the better."

Ensign Louis Haldimand had arrived in Boston, and of him Hutcheson wrote that he liked his profession and would make a good soldier:—"Miss Leechmore and Miss Birch have undertaken to teach him English and give him Tea, as often as he has leisure to attend them and he promises much to himself from their Instructions." Mrs. Fairchild, the general's housekeeper, who had been left in charge of his Boston dwelling, was in the habit of giving the major and the nephew "a little dinner in the parlour" when they were not engaged elsewhere. The dinings-out were few, as provisions were becoming too scarce in Boston to allow the people to entertain. They had no money to spend upon luxuries of any kind, but Hutcheson managed to sell a gun and some watches, though he found difficulty in disposing of the general's tea urn, and was sending to him in England his "silver Epergne, as nobody will buy it, as times go." Of public affairs he wrote:—"I wish we could find the people of England as unanimous in support of their just rights, as we are to defend them. There has not been a Man of War from England since you sailed nor have we heard from New York since my return, we are entirely ignorant of what's doing at home or on this Continent, except that we are ourselves

surrounded by a Considerable Army, entrenched for fifteen miles round us, with redoubts full of men on every hill near this Place. Washington has his head Quarters at Cambridge."

The major was most anxious to learn what was thought in England about the Lexington affair, and found it hard to be so long without hearing. Gage's recall and the arrival of Howe to take command was the next news of importance:—"The dependents of the present Commander-in-Chief down in the mouth; the court being paid to the rising sun." The worthy major, having taken Louis Haldimand under his wing in the absence of his uncle, thought that neither he nor the ensign received the attention that was their due, but by December of that year the lad was promoted to be lieutenant. Erelong he developed an orthodox number of expensive tastes, and another of Haldimand's correspondents advised him to bring his nephew under his own eye. Mrs. Fairchild took leave of Boston that winter, and sailed for England in a returning transport. With the spring came word of the troops leaving for Halifax, accompanied by many loyalist families reduced to the extremity of destitution. The British marched out of Boston, while Washington marched in, and a general confiscation of Tory property followed. So late as July 10th, 1776, Major Hutcheson believed that nine out of the thirteen provinces preferred to keep up the British connection, and six months later a correspondent

of Haldimand in St. Augustine wrote him that 1,000 men backed by the navy were all that was necessary to dissolve the union.

A new regiment, to be called the Royal Highland Emigrants, was being raised in Canada by Lieutenant-Colonel Allan MacLean, but there was little other good news from that quarter. A letter from Quebec dated July 20th, 1775, states:—"There is not yet a single Canadian raized, nor is there any appearance of it, these people have lost all their Spirit and seem indeed very averse to fighting, nor can Mr. Carleton get a single Regiment of militia to embody, they are all frightened out of their Witts, and the most violent of them only talk of defending their own Province, many of them would lay down their Arms to the Yankies did they but appear, in fact the Seeguneurs have no influence nor can they command out a single man." Better things in the future are hoped for by the writer, but the winter brought only tidings of the surrender of the forts on Lake Champlain and Montgomery's capture of Montreal. Would Quebec fall too?

Haldimand had a personal interest in Canada, as his nephew, Pierre, was stationed upon his seigniory at Pabôs, and he had solicited for him the good offices of Lieutenant-Governor Cramahé, but the accounts received were not favourable. Apparently there was no profit to be made out of the fishing resources of the place, since that business was

governed by a couple of monopolizing capitalists; nor was the lumber outlook any brighter. Pierre Haldimand thought he would have to go into trade, but there was nothing to be done on the coast. He had not seen Governor Carleton while in Quebec, and so feared he would not find a situation before the spring.

In February came the news of General Carleton's opportune arrival in Quebec, his success in holding out against the rebel attack, the death of General Montgomery, and Colonel Benedict Arnold's repulse the same night by MacLean and his Emigrants. Major Hutcheson wrote that the king's speech and the addresses of parliament had no effect on the rebels, whom nothing but a good trimming would serve, and the defeat at Quebec was likely to be more efficacious. Governor Carleton, to whom the victory was due, did not find favour in the sight of Lord George Germaine, who, historians agree, was not a proper person to be at the helm of colonial affairs in England during a crisis. He was a stupid man, to say the least of it, and one instance of his stupidity was the appointment of General Burgoyne, a court favourite, to command the troops allotted for the defence of Canada, thus deposing Carleton, who was henceforth to be the civil governor only. The governor-in-chief of Canada had been the commander-in-chief of the army both before the conquest and afterwards: therefore Carleton resigned at once, though

he remained at his post and gave the new commander all the help in his power until his own successor was appointed. Burgoyne's disastrous campaign is a matter of history, and has naught to do with the career of Frederick Haldimand, excepting that upon Carleton's resignation he was appointed governor-in-chief in his place.

The news reached him at Yverdun, where he was visiting his family, and it is likely that he had passed the whole summer in Switzerland, travelling with friends and recruiting his health. It was in August that he received and accepted the appointment, and a month later he was in London, anxious, as usual, to be thoroughly posted upon his new duties. There he learned of the injustice done to Carleton, and though he declined to enter into the quarrel between him and Germaine, he feared that the general might suppose he was taking advantage of the situation. Haldimand asked that his own commission might be annulled, and Lord Barrington complimented him on the handsomeness of his letter, which, he said, he would show to the king. But Carleton had considered Lord Germaine's disapproval of his military tactics tantamount to a dismissal, and he agreed to stay in Canada only until the arrival of Haldimand, whose appointment he had approved. The new governor was to return to the established rule in commanding the forces also, and one of Carleton's last official letters was to the Prince of Hesse, stating that he "recommended

the German troops to the care of his successor, who will show every consideration for them."

The army of Great Britain at that time amounted to less than one hundred thousand men, and by the end of 1776 more than half of them were in America. For reinforcements she had called upon her ancient allies, the north German states, and during this war employed over twenty thousand of their troops in her colonies. Foreign legions were to be found in every army of Europe, and these particular mercenaries were not deserving of the contempt heaped upon them by narrow-minded provincials. As a class they were above the average of the regular soldier of the time, not only in valour and discipline, but in habits of thrift and economy, sending home many thousands of *thalers* out of the liberal pay they received from the British.

It was the troops from Brunswick that came to Canada, and the journal of their commander, the Baron Riedesel, contains many interesting details of his first impressions of the country in 1776. At Isle aux Coudres he noted the *habitant* dress, much like that of the Indians, he thought, but suited to the climate: "Over their shirts, which are frequently made of coloured linen or of printed calico, they wear small waistcoats of different stuffs according to the season of the year. Over this again they wear a long jacket of white woollen cloth reaching down to the knees. This is ornamented with all kinds of coloured ribbons, which serve

in the place of buttons. Around the waist they wear a scarf which keeps the waistcoat, or capote, as they style it, close together. This scarf is made of different coloured yarn and makes quite a display. In the winter they wear longer capotes of cloth, or the skins of the porpoise, which they understand perfectly how to prepare for this purpose, having learned it from the Indians. Pantaloons are worn by all the men, summer and winter, with the exception of those who go about a great deal with the savages.

"On the outside (of the leggings), where our splatterdashes have buttons is a piece of cloth or fringe, about as broad as a hand, which runs down to the foot and keeps flying round their legs as they walk. This superfluous piece is partly for ornament and partly for use against snakes, who if not noticed will generally bite this piece of cloth, leaving their poison in it. For the same reason we shall have the long wide sailor pants introduced in our army. The scarcity of hats causes most everyone to wear red woolen caps, nor if the Canadian wishes to be *dressed up* will he wear any other colour.

"Agriculture is carried on in the same manner as with us, but no winter grain can be raised in Canada. They raise wheat, barley, oats, and a little Indian corn or maize. Everything is sown in the beginning of May and harvested after four months. Peas, beans, lentiles, vetches, all kinds of cabbage, onions and potatoes are also raised.

"The farm houses have no pretensions to architectural beauty. They are generally built of long beams cut square, and laid on top of one another and joined at the corners. The inner walls are covered with boards of cedar or pine" and the roofs shingled. They are "but one story high, but are divided into many rooms and are generally very neat. An ordinary peasant's house is capacious enough for our whole family. The inhabitants are remarkably civil and obliging, and I hardly think that under similar circumstances our peasants would behave as well."

Haldimand was ordered to depart immediately for the scene of his new labours, and that he did embark in the autumn of 1777 is verified by a letter to his intimate friend, General de Budé, written on board ship on October 9th, in which he says that instead of being off Labrador or Newfoundland, he is only at Plymouth. The winds are contrary, and there seems to be no sign of a change. As well try to get to the moon as to Quebec. If the wind refuses to favour him he will go back to London in a very bad humour—and back he went. The St. Lawrence had shut her icy door in his face for that season. It was an ill wind that blew nobody good, as he was free to return to Yverdun for the winter, to take the baths there and to make little journeys with friends for health and recreation combined. He knew there was no pleasant position awaiting him in Canada, but he was not the man to turn his back

upon a duty that promised to be disagreeable. He would be happy should he succeed in doing it, but appearances were unfavourable.

The Quebec *Gazette* of July 2nd, 1778, has this notice of his arrival at his command:—"On Friday last His Majesty's frigate, the *Montreal*, Stair Douglas, Esq., Commander, arrived here, having on board his Excellency General Haldimand and his suite, and on Saturday noon his Excellency landed. On this occasion the streets from the landing place to the Château were lined by the British and Canadian militia and the troops of the garrison. On leaving the frigate the General was saluted by the ships in the river, and on his landing by the garrison. On his arrival at the Château he was met by the members of the Legislative Council and by them conducted into the council chamber, where his Commission was read and the usual oaths administered to him."

Things were looking better than he had expected, he wrote to Budé, though he was being overwhelmed with ceremony. The *Gazette* published both the address presented to him and his reply :—

"We, His Majesty's faithful and loyal British Subjects, the Gentlemen, Merchants and Citizens residing in Quebec, beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on your safe arrival in this City. Permit us to assure your Excellency that we feel the highest satisfaction in having a Gentleman of your conspicuous Abilitys and extensive Knowledge as

a Successor to our late most worthy Governor, convinc'd that it requires the utmost Exertion of Military Talents and Skill to preserve the public Tranquility at a time when we are so much exposed to Depredations from the unhappy Spirit of Rebellion which so universally prevails amongst His Majesty's Subjects in the neighbouring Provinces. You may rely on our utmost endeavours to Effectuate any measures which may be adopted by your Excellency for the Preservation and Security of the Province; and being truly sensible of the Blessings derived from the glorious Constitution of Great Britain, and sincerely attached to our most gracious Sovereign, we are ready on all Occasions to support with our Lives and Fortunes his Royal Person, Family and Government."

"I return you many thanks for this very obliging Address; the handsome mention you make of my worthy Predecessor, your offer of Assistance in the Measures I may find necessary to pursue for the security of the Province, and your determined Resolution to Support His Majesty's Royal Person, Family and Government, are perfectly agreeable to me; relying upon Dispositions so commendable, and convinced of what you can do by what you have already done, I entertain Sanguine Expectations of seeing the Tranquility of the Province fully established, and the Happiness of its Loyal Inhabitants, of every Denomination, secured upon a solid and lasting foundation."

Greetings of the same sort awaited him in Montreal, but, far more than these formal speeches, he would appreciate the genuine kindliness of the retiring governor's welcome, his desire to give the best help in his power to his successor. In a letter introducing Sir Guy Carleton to General Budé, Haldimand told his friend not to be repelled by the cold manners of this new acquaintance, that he was a perfect gentleman and one of the best officers in the service. Of himself he wrote that he was resolutely setting himself to the task of keeping the Canadians from following in the footsteps of their neighbours to the southward, and he hoped his efforts would be seconded by the ministry in England, but in any case he would faithfully serve King George as long as there were four drops of blood in his veins.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GENERAL

IT was Haldimand's destiny never to play a dramatic part but a more difficult one. He was not present at the siege of Quebec to share in the glories won by Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham; his lot was cast with the slower, plodding Amherst. As fate had favoured Sir William Johnson in giving him the chance to take Niagara, while Haldimand stayed behind at Oswego, so she denied the latter any special glory in Florida beyond that of being "a meritorious sufferer for the public benefit." In New York and Boston, because he was not British born, he had to come second to General Gage, a man much inferior to himself in energy and intelligence; and finally he was sent to Quebec after the picturesque rôle of defeating the actual invaders of Canada had already been taken by Sir Guy Carleton.

To remain on the defensive was ever the duty assigned him, and how much that meant in the present instance can only be approximately estimated. When the inhabitants of a country are united in their determination to expel the enemy from her borders, it is wonderful what even a sparse population can accomplish with the help of a few regular troops. In the war of 1812, French and

English Canadians fought shoulder to shoulder against superior forces of American invaders and repeatedly drove them back to their own side of the line, but the situation of affairs was entirely different in 1778. The British method of government had not yet passed its experimental stage. Middle-aged Canadians could talk to the growing boys of the famous campaigns in which they had fought with Montcalm or Lévis, while old men in the chimney corner could recall the glorious days of *le grand monarque*. As the faults of the family sinner are generally buried with him and naught but his good points remembered, so the hardships undergone during the French régime were soon forgotten. The forced labour without pay, the dreary shovelling of earth to form embankments, the long marches upon empty stomachs, or poor food, the worthless card money given in return for hardly garnered grain—these weighed light as feathers in the scale with brief battles separated by months or years of monotonous toil. Brave stories, handed from father to son, had a preponderating influence in a country whose acquaintance with printing was so extremely slight and recent that not one man in five hundred could read. A scholar with this accomplishment would be the hero of the hour one Sunday in the autumn of 1778, when through some hidden agency there was nailed up outside of every church door in the different parishes a *Declaration, adressée Au Nom du Roi, à tous*

les anciens François de l'Amérique Septentrionale and signed *Estaing*. What a whispering and a gesticulating this document created when its full meaning permeated the dullest understanding!

"You are French," it began, "you cannot cease to be so." Would parricidal hands be raised against the mother country and her American allies?

"As a nobleman of France, I need not say to those among you born to the same rank that there is but one august house under which a Frenchman can be happy and serve with pleasure. . . . Could the Canadians who saw the brave Marquis (Montcalm) fall in their defence be the enemies of his nephews, fight against their ancient leaders and arm themselves against their relations? At their very name the weapons would fall from their hands!" A specially insidious appeal was made to the clergy and the whole people was assured that "sooner or later jealous and despotic sovereigns would treat them as 'the conquered.'"

It is possible that Admiral d'Estaing exceeded his commission in the wording of this proclamation, for France had bound herself not to seek any personal advantage in America through the war, but Washington's suspicions were aroused and he refused to sanction any invasion of Canada in which his allies should take a leading part. With his customary sagacious foresight, he wisely avoided the possibility of establishing another European power in the place of England, especially one which

might prove a worse neighbour and would certainly lay claim to the great west.

But Haldimand knew naught of this and could only act upon information received, such as the following dated November 29th, 1779, from Halifax:—"About six weeks ago a Spanish Pacquet under the care of an officer was brought into New York by a Privateer belonging to that place and by a very clever behavior on the part of the Master of that Vessel, the Mail and other papers were secured and I am informed that . . . an authentic copy of a Treaty was found which had lately been signed at Paris between the courts of France and Spain, and Franklin, the American agent on the part of Congress. And by one of the articles of this Treaty, the Congress binds themselves to deliver up by June 20th, 1780, the two Floridas into the hands of Spain and the Provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia to the French King."

Tidings of this nature merely served to rouse the general to strenuous exertions for the defence of the province.[1] One of his first labours was the establishment of a post at the entrance of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence, where the traders could store the goods brought from Montreal in canoes or batteaux, ready for transhipment to Niagara. The secure harbour necessary was found at Carleton Island, where fortifications and a barracks were begun under the direction of Twiss of

[1] See appendix F.

the engineers, while Schank of the navy was to superintend the building of gun boats for Lake Ontario.

"We are at the same time," Haldimand wrote the minister, "busily employed upon the works at the Isle aux Noix and St. John's, on the communication with Lake Champlain, and the situation of Sorel, on the River of that name at its conflux with the St. Lawrence, where ships of Burden approach without difficulty, being very favourable to our Magazines, we are engaged in erecting the necessary Storehouses and the Barracks to lodge a Body of Troops to cover them, and to remain in readiness for all emergencies. While these works have been carrying on, two of the armed vessels have been constantly kept cruizing upon the Lake up to Crown Point, and I have employed discovering parties wherever anything was to be apprehended. Many families and the Wives and Children of some of the Loyalists already with the Army have come into this Province lately, having been driven from their places of residence, after having all their Property seized, by a Law of the Rebels for that express purpose. The Distress of those poor people is so great that I take it for granted the expense which must be incurred by relieving them will be judged unavoidable and be approved of."

Lord Germaine exhibited his geographical ignorance by remarking that with 6,200 troops Haldimand ought not to be badly off, but should be able

to demonstrate that neither France nor Spain could make England abandon her loyal subjects. In 1780, he no longer saw the necessity for even so large a force in Canada, since Washington had but 8,000 under his immediate command, and the British fleet was sweeping the seas. He did not consider that every man in the old colonies was turned soldier for the defence of his property, whatever might be the number with the commander-in-chief, while the Canadians served with reluctance even as seamen on the lakes. The best of the forces in Canada were three British regiments, which lacking their grenadier and light infantry corps amounted only to 1,200 men. The Germans proved not to be adapted to the work required of them. In a country where soldiers are expected to turn their hands to anything, these Europeans objected to duty not strictly military in character, and being indifferent to the issue of the struggle they were too much inclined to desert to their countrymen in Pennsylvania. The Indian contingent was a very uncertain quantity, but at most the Six Nations could contribute only 600 fighting men, and the Seven Nations of Canada, as they were called, still fewer.

The most efficient troops were sent to guard the upper posts, while the Germans remaining in Quebec were mostly invalids left behind from Burgoyne's expedition. In case of invasion the general wrote that he could not put more than 2,500 men in the field nor keep them there for more than two months,

and he feared that many would desert to the enemy. In a winter campaign the rebels had the advantage because used to such warfare, but Haldimand sent out his troops in detachments to practise walking on snow-shoes, to learn how to make huts in the woods and to live in them for eight or ten days at a time. He resolved also to attach some Canadians to each British regiment and to gain their confidence by favouring their noblesse and keeping up the rank-distinctions on which they set such store, though at times he felt it was hardly safe to trust them with arms. Should French soldiers make their appearance with rebel troops, the Canadians would give them provisions and serve as guides, if they did not actually join them in an attempt to conquer the country.

The inhabitants had been largely neutral during the invasion under Montgomery and Arnold. If they did not come willingly forward to fight for Great Britain, neither did they care to fight against her, as the weight of clerical and seigniorial influence was upon her side. The more intelligent classes were well aware that neither their church nor their estates had aught to gain from absorption into a republic, but reunion with the mother country was a different matter. A report was even circulated that the pope had issued a bull absolving from their oath of allegiance to England all who would return to that of France, while the Indians were reminded of their hypothetical promise to return to

fight for the French against the English whenever the former should reappear. Bishops in France were better informed upon the political situation than their Canadian brethren whom they censured soundly for their leanings towards the rebel cause.

Haldimand says:—"However sensible I am of the good conduct of the clergy in general during the invasion of the Province in the year 1775, I am well aware that since France was known to take part in the contest, and since the address of Count D'Estaing and a letter of M. de la Fayette to the Canadians and Indians have been circulated in the Province, many of the Priests have changed their opinions, and in case of another Invasion would, I fear, adopt another system of conduct."

An example was made of one Sulpician so open and violent in his advocacy of a return to the old régime that the head of his seminary agreed to his banishment, with the further injunction from the general that he should "restrain his ordinary vivacity and take care of what he says and does before leaving." Pere Valinière's fate[1] served as a warning to his brethren against the open promulgation of treason, but only one curé was sufficiently loyal to send to the authorities the seditious proclamation from his church door.

The governor had good reason for complaint that he was generally the last person informed as to what was passing either in his own province or

[1] See appendix G.

in the rebel colonies. It was of the utmost importance that he should have some inkling of the designs of congress, and he had been ordered to keep up a close communication with the royal commander at New York, but his messengers going by Lake Champlain were often intercepted, and the trail by the Kennebec or the Penobscot, though shorter, was still more unsafe. The lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia wrote that the best way to forward despatches to him was via Fort Howe, at the mouth of the St. John river, opposite Annapolis, thence to Halifax, only a month's journey. The sea route to either colleague was no more satisfactory, as the gulf was full of rebel privateers, bent on destroying the fisheries, and watching for merchant or mail vessels. They made a practice of flocking into the St. Lawrence in the early spring to try to intercept news coming from England, and were often successful, as Haldimand's earnest entreaty for more help from the fleet had not been granted. "What can we do for you," the admiralty asked him, "when every day we are looking for French ships to make a landing upon the coast of England, and straining every nerve merely to hold our own on the high seas against the combined navies of France and Spain?"

Not a ship could the governor get to winter in the river, though some were willing to wait as late as October 25th to act as convoy to the merchant vessels going home. If the French fleet should

winter at Boston, it would be on hand in good season to sail up the St. Lawrence to Quebec before the English could cross the Atlantic. According to his habit of making the most of the means at his disposal, the general issued letters of marque to local craft, permitting them to prey upon the rebel shipping, and he employed swift sailing sloops of war to keep watch in the gulf. His plan was to station "a ship of force" at Bic, and to delay the departure of the fall fleet until the middle of November, so that with the help of a frigate in the gulf and the smaller armed craft that could be spared, the lower parts of the province might be protected until nearly the close of navigation.

Secret agents of congress penetrated every part of the country. A man called Moses Hazen was reported to have made four trips from Albany to St. Francis in one summer, and he had scouts at work forming a well-defined trail between the two places in order to keep himself posted upon the strength of St. Johns and Montreal, as well as to open a way for the advance of rebel troops. Hazen persuaded twenty-six Canadian prisoners in Albany to take up arms for congress, and for a long time Haldimand's scouts could find neither his spies nor his road, though they blazed tracks hither and thither through the forest, to the confusion of the next seekers. Resident Jesuit missionaries were suspected of securing the sympathies of the Caughnawagas for congress, and some mischief-maker got in among

the Indians of St. Regis and the Lake of the Two Mountains, whose work had to be undone by stationing loyal subjects there.

The savages were not pleased that on their scouting expeditions they were charged to take no scalps, only prisoners; and there were others in the province who soon found that the new governor was a man to be obeyed. Before he had been a year at his post he wrote to a London friend that he was surrounded with enemies and knew not whom to trust. His sense of justice was ever stronger than his love of approbation, but he was not sufficiently callous to public opinion to enjoy living in an atmosphere of suspicion. With Sir Henry Clinton, commander at New York, he could have worked in harmony had the difficulties of communication been less. Haldimand sent him a "trial letter" by each new route to see if it would reach him safely, and all epistles had to be duplicated, even triplicated, if there was to be any likelihood of their delivery. For six months of one year the Canadian governor did not hear from Clinton at all, though he sent him nineteen letters; and during that time he had to rely upon scraps of information from the rebel newspapers that occasionally found their way to Quebec. He improved the mail service with England by the establishment of a line of fast packets, sailing from either side of the Atlantic once a month as regularly as could be arranged.

While the fortifications at the mouth of the

Richelieu were in progress, the governor spent much of his time at Sorel, and thence he wrote to Lord George Germaine, that "gentleman at his desk" who planned a number of absurd campaigns in America. He was the minister to whom Haldimand was bound to make his report, though Germaine's replies, when at last they came, must frequently have been irritating to such an able man as the general. The following is an excerpt from one of his reports, written from the camp at Sorel on October 15th, 1778:—

"I have in another letter given a general Account of the Business in which I have been engaged since my arrival, but I have reserved, as I thought it would be most agreeable to Your Lordship, the more particular information necessary to lay before you for a separate letter.

"All the accounts which I have received from the Rebel Colonies agree that the Reduction of Canada is looked upon there as so essentially requisite to them before they can consider themselves secure, that it has been declared to the People from the Congress, as I make no doubt Your Lordship has seen, that they are not to expect Peace till they shall have accomplished this indispensable work. Haun [Hazen?] and a famous Canadian Rebel named Traversier, who I informed Your Lordship in my letter of the 28th of June, I had received intelligence were come towards this Province, have been in St. François, and I am sorry to say returned

in spite of the assiduity and vigilance of several persons who were employed there to look out for them. These men have left word with their Friends, who are but too numerous there and who take care to spread the mischief imparted to them, that they will certainly return in a short time in Force. Some People in this Province who were taken by Privateers in their passage with the Fleet last Spring and just lately back by Land, report that it was the language of the Country, wherever they passed, that an Army would soon make its appearance in Canada.

"The Capital Approach to this Province being by Lake Champlain, it is to be wished that we could accomplish the Erecting of such Solid and respectable works as are requisite for its Defence, but all we can hope to effect this year is, at the Isle aux Noix, to contract the old French works, so as to adapt them better to the small number of men which I can spare for them. At St. John's, to complete a temporary outwork to possess a rising ground on the West Side and near the Fort, so called, being nothing more than a line of Pickets, with a Banquette within and an inconsiderable Ditch without, covering the Barracks and Store Houses, erected between the two old Earth Redoubts upon the River, which are miserable works and in a very bad condition, the whole, with the Ships which they are meant to cover in the winter, when they must be laid up, can be expected in

their present state only to frustrate the sly and desultory attempts, but will be by no means capable of resisting any Formidable and supported Attack of an enemy. Plans of these works shall also be sent to Your Lordship. Chamblie is only a Fortified Barrack, affords even no shelter against cannon, and is entirely surrounded by a high ground at a small Musket Shot.

"I judge it unsafe in our present defensive Plan to have any stores so high up as Any of the Places above mentioned, or at Montreal, and have withdrawn them therefore, except such as were required there, to this Post, where I shall be able this year only to erect some Temporary Redoubts, and to lodge but a part of the Body of Troops I mean to station there, where the convenience of communicating so easily with all parts of the Province by water carriage, gives it singular advantage, either for advancing or retreating, and where it is absolutely necessary to have as considerable a corps as possible, as it covers both the Avenue of Lake Champlain and that of St. François, which has been very much used by the Rebels, their Settlement approaching much nearer to those of the Canadians on that part, than on any other of the Colony, and this communication is the more dangerous to us as there is a Tribe of the Domiciled Indians upon that River that are lately become very ungovernable, and 'tis feared attached to the Rebels. It is my intention therefore, if time and circum-

stances favour me, to make Sorel a place of strength with Permanent Works, as the importance of it deserves. The Seigneuriere of this Place is vested in Merchants residing in England, and the Inhabitants of it, people remarkable for their courage and resolution, have distinguished themselves very much by their attachment to Government even at the time the Rebels were Masters of that Country, in which account I think it would serve the King's interest to bestow some Public mark of favour upon them, such as remitting them the Quit rents which they pay for their lands to the Seigneur and the Seigneuriere being to be sold, and the Purchase would not exceed £3,000, having been offered for that sum, I submit to Your Lordship whether it would not be best to give orders to treat immediately with the Proprietors, Messrs. Greenwood and Wigginson, Merchants in London, both for enabling me to effect the purpose above mentioned, and for securing to Government at a reasonable rate the lands whereon the works will be situated, and a great quantity of wood which the Seigneurie furnishes, fit for building and other uses thereof, upon a spot which nature makes so important, as that it becomes highly indispensable to avail ourselves of the best manner possible of such a situation, and therefore in a very short time, if Your Lordship does not by the means I here propose prevent it, the Prices for what Government shall have occasion to occupy of the land and to take of the wood will

be infinitely enhanced, and many other obstacles will be opposed to the completion of the Design.

"I employ all methods to become acquainted with the intricate and secret Paths, by which I find the Rebel Emissaries still gain Access into the Parishes on the St. François, and others on the South Shore where they have obtained but too much interest with both the Canadians and Indians. I have now some Canadian Officers of Trust exploring that River, and I mean to establish a Post as high up as will be prudent, as soon as I shall find the best place upon it for interrupting their dangerous intercourse, and I am in hopes of breaking it off, provided we have time given us, but we have too many works on hand to be able to proceed so rapidly as the case seems to require, particularly as by the necessary disposition of the Troops to keep the Parishes in order, the Germans become entirely useless in these respects.

"I have a Detachment of Loyalists and a Company of the 34th Regt. upon the Chaudière at the Upper part of the settlements on which we have a picketed Fort and are building a Block House.

"The Company of the 8th Regt. which was at Oswegatchie, where I have for the present placed a Detachment of Thirty men from the Troops here, for keeping up the communication and for scouting. That Compy., as well as a Detachment of the same Regiment, which had been sent from Niagara to protect the Merchandise forwarded from here to

the Island, where I have reported to Your Lordship a Fort is now building, has been sent to join their Regiment, part at Niagara and part, in consequence of the irruption of the Rebels into the Illinois, I thought proper to order to Detroit. The Difficulty of subsisting Troops in that part of the world where nothing is to be procured, but what is sent there with so great labour and expense, puts it out of my power to send any greater reinforcement this year to the Upper Posts, which the future interest of Great Britain, not less than the present concerns of the Province would require to be in a much more respectable state and condition.

"I informed Your Lordship in my letter of the 28th July that I had sent a Party to destroy the Harvest in the Rebel Settlement nearest to our Frontiers. Owing to a disagreement between the Indians and the Loyalists Compy. composing the Party before they came near the spot where they were to act, they returned without fully answering the purposes intended, having only destroyed some Barns and a couple of mills upon the lower part of the Onion River, which, however, has obliged the People to abandon those parts and the Detachment suffered no loss. I mean still to prosecute this design, as there are some settlements upon the Borders of Lake Champlain, Otter Creek and about Tyconderoga and Crown Point that may furnish many conveniences and necessaries which would facilitate the approach of an enemy. I propose to

send a respectable party, which will be covered by some of the ships and Gun Boats, and that it shall be as late as possible in going out as the Damage it may then do to the enemy will be irreparable this season. The showing ourselves still on that side may probably have the effect of keeping up the difficulty which the Rebel Government is not without finding in enforcing obedience (an effect which is but too sensibly felt by us here, even from the insinuations of a few Agents of Rebellion) and the appearance of Invasion from where perhaps they do not expect it, may break or retard the measures of those People for carrying it to where they intend it.

"I have informed Your Lordship in another letter of several Families from the neighbouring Provinces having come into this for Protection and Relief. To diminish the expense of lodging them about the country among the Inhabitants and to avoid the inconvenience which might possibly result from too general a communication between any of these People, that I have found come here under false pretences, and the Canadians, I have ordered Houses to be built for their Women and Children and some old and sick on a spot in the Parish of Machiche where they will be separated and by themselves.

"Considering the inconvenience and even Accidents to which the Troops dispersed all about the Country among the Inhabitants in their Winter Quarters are liable to, I have begun to establish

Temporary Barracks in some of the Parishes by fitting up vacant houses which have been found therein, where they can be lodged in Bodies and contiguous. And I shall as far as possible adopt for all the Parishes in which it is necessary to have Troops the same plan, and where Houses as above are not to be found, build them for the purpose, which I judge equally requisite for the Preservation of Discipline among the Troops, for making them respected by the Inhabitants, for better enforcing the obedience of these two ordinances and for compliance with orders which the Conjuncture of the Times may make necessary to issue to them and for the Expeditious assembling of the others upon sudden Emergencies. Lest, however, the Expense Attending these Regulations should alarm you, I think it right to acquaint Your Lordship that by cutting the Logs of which these Buildings are Constructed from the lands upon which the Crown has rights and by their being Executed in part by the People, it will be confined to a very moderate sum, considering the number of Houses required and their utility when completed.

"I have done nothing yet about Canadian Corps, waiting for the time when the men who are employed in the Trade to the Country above and the Fisheries below, and who are of the most Robust and active of the Young men, shall return, which is late in the Fall, when I intend to Embody Three Compys. beginning with these few and extending

the levy if I shall see it likely to succeed, and that His Majesty's service would be benefited by it. We have received some assistance from the Country by Corvies without which the Transport of Provisions between Montreal and Carleton for the Upper Posts would be impracticable, but in the present disposition of the People, I have judged it highly requisite to observe the utmost Caution, not to make Demands that from exciting murmurs might lead them to a Declaration of sentiments which the French Alliance with the Rebels has undoubtedly raised in numbers of them, who in regard of the Rebellion were unquestionably attached to Government and received in the others, the symptoms of which change in the Canadians is everywhere manifest and the more dangerous as multitudes are but too sensible of our inability with the Troops we have in an entire open country to control them, if any fortuitous circumstances should unite their resolutions as their inclinations are but too much already. Wherefore I cannot conclude this subject without hazarding my opinion to Your Lordship, that this Province cannot be preserved should the Rebels exert their efforts against it, which it is evidently not less their inclinations to attempt than it is their interest to prosecute at all rates the success without a much superior Body of Troops than is at this time here. Such a Body of Troops as besides sufficient Garrisons for all our Posts would afford Eight Thousand Men to take the Field,

which, commanding the resources of the Country, would push on the different works at Posts necessary to Possess, to a speedy Completion when we might expect to draw from the Country itself such assistance from the consequent obedience of the Inhabitants as would repay these Extraordinary Exertions to procure it.

"The remaining Troops of the Duke of Brunswick have been formed by orders sent from their Prince into Three Battalions of Four Companies each, instead of Fives, which the Brunswick Battalions consisted of by the Treaty, and the Battalion of Prince Frederick, which came back here entire, is now put on the same footing as the other two formed from the Detachments of all the Corps left behind and that have come back, the number of men now in each Company being much greater than they were before, while that of the Officers is less, and I must say so insufficient as scarcely to have been serviceable independent of these Detachments having been the refuse of the Corps they belonged to, and therefore it is a matter which will require Your Lordship's interference about with the Duke of Brunswick. The clothing of these Troops, which I learn has been since some time past in England, has been neglected to be sent over, and the Troops are likely to suffer very much for want of it during the Approaching Winter. There is likewise a Detachment of the Regiment of the Prince of Hanau left in Canada, of near Two

Hundred men, and only Three Officers, one of which I have been obliged to take to command the Company of Artillery which I have acquainted Your Lordship I had formed out of them and the Artillerymen remaining so that the Detachment has only a Captain and a Subaltern to serve with it and therefore I apprehend something ought to be done to bring this Corps into a more sensible state.

"It will be absolutely requisite to occupy and establish a Post at Oswego, or somewhere in that neighbourhood, otherwise we must expect to lose entirely the remaining faithful part of the Five Nations Indians. They have already repeatedly demanded that Government should take that step in favour of them, in order that their Families might have a secure place to retreat while their warriors were employed upon Expeditions against the Rebels, and I am of opinion that it is impossible, consistent with His Majesty's Interests, to reject their solicitations, although it must occasion a further heavy Expense of Provisions and other Articles which they will expect to be supplied with, and while the Transport of so far must cost very large sums.

"I have in this letter Communicated to Your Lordship very much at length An Account of the Measures I am pursuing and those I think most immediately necessary to pursue for the Defence and Security of this Province entrusted to my care, in doing of which I have unavoidably fallen into

prolixity, which I pray Your Lordship to excuse and impute to the earnest desire I am actuated by of making my Zeal for His Majesty's Service manifest and of meriting Your Lordship's approbation of my conduct."

CHAPTER IX

THE UPPER POSTS

THE frontier forts were one and all an endless source of anxiety to the governor at Quebec, beginning with the most northerly Michillimakinak, at the narrows between the two great inland seas Huron and Michigan, coming down to Detroit, in the straits leading to Lake Erie, and thence to Niagara and Carleton Island, the door-keepers of Lake Ontario. With an insufficient number of troops to defend the nearer portions of his province, it was impossible for the general to spare garrisons large enough to enable the outposts to withstand the ever expected rebel attacks. Their distance from one another, as well as from Quebec, and the slow and insecure method of communication made it desirable that each should be self-reliant, but they were dependent on one another, like links in a chain, and all at the mercy of the surrounding savages whose good-will could be secured only by a constant distribution of presents.

Once more the Indian saw himself of political consequence between two white races at war, both seeking his alliance, and he made the most of the occasion, taking gifts from either side when it could be safely done. Why weary himself with

hunting to feed and clothe himself when there was a well-stored fort within reach? If the British would have him go upon the war-path, they must feed his family while he was gone. Often on his return from one of these "diversions" his squaw would tear the clothes off his back that he might present himself at the fortress in a condition calling for rehabiliment. Most of all did he crave "the pernicious article of rum," and there were always plenty of vagabond traders about to induce him to buy it from themselves, contrary to law, or to plague the chiefs and interpreters into getting it for him.

An inventory of the merchandise for Indian presents in one of the king's stores includes such articles as "shirts, plain linnen and rufflʼd; callimanco bed gowns, 36 scarlet coats, laced; finger rings, jew's harps, watch chains, shoe buckles, scalping knives"; while "arm-bands, 3 inch broad, French manufacture; 400 ear-wheels, 1,000 pair large ear-bobs, Black wampum," etc., are wanted. In a letter to De Peyster, the Detroit commander, July 6th, 1780, Haldimand says:—"Long habits of indulgence have created wants with the Indians which otherwise they would never have experienced, such as fine saddles and many luxuries carefully exhibited to their view by the all-grasping Trader. I think it would be cruel to deny these poor people who are employed by us such mark of our attention and regards as are necessary to their

comfort. Every shilling beyond this is superfluous to them and a loss to Government, nor is it in a Political view necessary, for however they may threaten to forsake us, we must know it is impossible they can exist without our aid, the Rebels not having necessaries sufficient for their own wants, and consequently to supply theirs."

The general had a long acquaintance with Indians, had fought with and against them in the Seven Years' War, had been the official protector of northern races at Three Rivers, of southern at Pensacola and while in command at New York had been in receipt of reports from Indian agents all over the country. With none of the modern sentimentality concerning the noble red man, he was yet determined to claim respect for his rights as a fellow creature. Some of the ill-will he brought upon himself was due to his rigid enforcement of the laws relating to the sale of Indian lands, the English government having decreed that no purchase of property from an aborigine should be valid unless made in the presence of the governor of the district and the Indian superintendent.

General Haldimand did not agree with General Gage that knocking them on the head was the only way to deal with Indians; he knew they could be punished through their love of gain. Therefore he directed his agents to use some discrimination in their bestowal of presents and reward those alone who were "hearty" in the king's cause. Of these

the most conspicuous were the Five Nations, who had now become six by the incorporation of the Tuscaroras, a southern sept of the same Iroquois clan. The Oneida tribe of the confederacy constantly wavered in their allegiance, although they sent their women and children to be fed at Niagara with the intent it was said of lessening the supplies at the fort. The Hurons, too, were suspected of craft in watching the fluctuations of the war and taking care to keep always upon the winning side, while none of the western nations were to be depended upon except the Sioux, who offered to attack the faithless Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawattamies.

The last were described as credulous, fickle and timid, swearing to remain neutral when the rebel agents bade them stay at home, taking up the hatchet in return for British presents, but easily led off by treacherous traders into the peaceful employment of gathering ginseng. That aromatic root which the old Jesuits used to ship to China, where it brought five dollars a pound, proved a sore temptation also to the Mississaugas on the northern shore of Lake Ontario. They were faithful and well-disposed to their neighbours on Carleton Island, but always clamouring for goods and rum, which they often found could be more quickly gained in the ginseng trade than by going to war.

The Mohawk tribe of the Six Nations could not at first be trusted to fight against their erstwhile

friends, the English colonists, and the province had no security against the approach of an enemy through their country until the autumn of 1778, when Major Carleton, brother of the ex-governor, made a clean sweep of the settlements on either side of Lake Champlain. Two years later he captured Fort Anne and Fort George. All the Loyalists had been expelled from the district and their lands given to rabid revolutionists upon whose support an army for invading Canada could rely, but Carleton's raiders destroyed provisions enough to have supplied 12,000 men for four months. They penetrated past the abandoned Fort Ticonderoga as far as Otter Creek and brought back over thirty captives to swell the numbers destined to fill Canadian prisons to overflowing.

Where did they all come from? One need only read the records of these "scouts" as the parties were called, to become amply informed. In February, 1780, it is a matter for congratulation that the Delawares have been to Wyoming, killed seven persons and made six prisoners; another scout has returned from near Ligonier with twenty-six prisoners and scalps; another has been to Woodcock Valley, Bedford county, Pennsylvania, where they burned seven houses, the same number of barns, killed cattle and horses, destroyed a block-house and put to death ten rebels whom they would have preferred to bring in as prisoners, but the Indians were not to be restrained. In no sense were the

savages reliable if sent upon a scouting expedition alone. There was always the danger of their being bought over by the rebels, and the fidelity even of the Six Nations rested largely upon the number of British troops accompanying them. The general directed his abhorrence of acts of cruelty to be impressed upon every Indian in the service, but they were so barbarously treated by the rebels when taken captive that it was most difficult to restrain them from retaliation.

Chiefly for the protection of the convoys of provisions on their way to Carleton Island, there to be stored for shipment via Niagara to the upper lakes, a small fort was maintained at Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg) on the St. Lawrence, but the officer in charge complained that he had only men enough to line one face of the works. His garrison was worn out with excessive scouting duty, being constantly on the move to discover the projects of the enemy against Carleton Island or their design to take possession of the abandoned works at Oswego. What, for instance, was the meaning of the thousand batteaux being built at Schenectady? They might be meant for New York, but Canada was the more likely destination. An Oswegatchie party brought home twenty-eight prisoners who had been mowing near Fort Stanwix, and killed nobody but two sentries; another sent to "amuse the people on the Mohawk" burned twenty houses and a like number of barns; the same was done at Conajoharie

and Dayton, the only regret being that Ellice's mill was still standing and a scout was planned to destroy it. By thus "teasing" the people of the German Flats, the commander at Oswegatchie hoped to drive them out, in which case Fort Stanwix must follow. It did follow in course of time, the garrison setting it on fire and beating a quiet retreat in 1781. Schenectady was in truth becoming the rebel frontier.

With the idea of preventing an expedition against Niagara, Major John Butler, in command of 500 of his famous Rangers, together with 600 Six Nations Indians, attacked the district of Wyoming with the desired result of its complete demolition—one thousand dwelling-houses, eight forts, mills, etc. But the leader is careful to state: "I can with truth inform you that in the destruction of this settlement not a single person has been hurt of the inhabitants, but such as were armed; to those indeed the Indians gave no quarter."

It was the savages who suffered in return, for General John Sullivan with 6,000 troops of congress, in spite of some slight resistance made by Butler's Rangers at Newton, marched into the Iroquois country and laid waste eighteen villages with the surrounding corn-fields. Haldimand was utterly perplexed for want of proper information regarding the destination of the expedition, and it was to him a source of great vexation that he had left his allies to their fate without lifting a finger

to help them. Some of the warriors refused to forsake their lands, lest the enemy should say they were afraid, and gleaned what they could from their desolated plantations; but the summer was over and the majority of the homeless became a burden upon the British posts.

Including refugee Loyalists, there were three thousand "useless people" to be fed and sheltered at Niagara during the winter of 1779-80, and the general, though protesting against a needless increase in the number of dependents at all the upper posts, sent up the necessary provisions, even at the risk of a famine in Quebec. With so many hungry mouths expecting food from him, it is no wonder that he watched anxiously for the arrival of the "victuallers" and breathed more freely when he heard of their having escaped the dangers of shipwreck or capture and being actually in the river. He asked that they might set sail earlier from England, in the end of March or beginning of April, so as to be in the St. Lawrence by the opening of navigation; while a second fleet, he thought, might begin the voyage about the middle of July.

In the end of June, 1779, the general ordered a number of Sacs and Foxes, then in Montreal, with whom the rebels had been "tampering" in their far western homes, to be brought down to Quebec and impressed with a sight of the British fleet. A deputation from the Six Nations was detained six weeks at the capital for the same purpose and made to

observe that there were no French ships among the arrivals from Cork or London. In dismissing them, the general said he had sent reinforcements to Detroit, Niagara and Carleton Island to march to the relief of his Indian allies, since "the Great King, your father, is not sparing of his troops, nor lets you fight your battles by yourselves."

Niagara was the post which stood in most danger of capture; the enemy had already laid waste the country within eighty miles, and should it fall, Detroit and Michillimakinak would be cut off from the base of supplies and must surrender also. The avenue to Niagara was therefore closely watched and it lay along the Mohawk valley where stores were known to be collecting for the advance of a rebel army. To that region therefore scouts were frequently sent and often they were commanded by Joseph Brant, the most civilized savage of his time, though a past master in the art of conflagration. His operations on the Mohawk included the burning of a village of the renegade Oneidas, forts at Minnisink, as well as twenty houses at Schoharie, one hundred at Kleysburg, also a church, two forts, horses, cattle, etc., and he always returned with a goodly supply of prisoners and scalps. Haldimand wrote to Germaine that the success attending the border warfare was chiefly due to Joseph Brant, "whose attachment to Government, resolution and Personal exertion make him a character of very distinguished kind, and I humbly consider him entitled

to some particular mark of the King's favour." He received the "particular mark," being made a colonel of Indians, and continued his depredations, though it is upon record that his parties harmed no woman or child.

In expressing his personal approbation of Joseph and his brethren, His Excellency wished them to be assured that their course of action, "if steadily pursued, cannot fail to reinstate them in their domestic enjoyments and to add to their renown in Indian and in English history." But care had to be exercised in honouring Brant, for there was his rival, Butler, equally deserving as a partisan leader, and there was Butler's right hand man, Schenderatchta, king of the Senecas, brave and prudent, a hater of the French, and firmer in his allegiance to Great Britain since France had joined congress. Among the loyal Indian chiefs Colonel Brant was considered "not so great a warrior as some, and therefore not so high in his tribe as others." These would be jealous if too much favour were shown him by the British, since they already knew that he was in their pay.

A rather troublesome ward of the nation was "Miss Molly," sister of Joseph Brant, and by the Indians regarded as the widow of Sir William Johnson. She had more influence with them than any of the chiefs, and though her large family made her somewhat unreasonable in her own demands, she checked the insatiable exactions of her

THAYENDANEGEA
(Joseph Brant)
From an original painting

neighbours. Despite objections to being separated from her children, she at length consented to leave two of them at school in Montreal while she went to Niagara to give valuable aid in keeping her tribesmen loyal; but her violent temper made her presence not an unalloyed blessing. Eventually, she was settled in a house of her own at Carleton Island, next to one built for her brother Joseph, and was granted a pension of £100 a year.

The death of Sir William Johnson in 1774 had been a national loss. His nephew, Guy Johnson, who was also his son-in-law, was in no way competent to fill his place, having neither the heart nor the brain of his uncle. The younger man had far less influence with the Six Nations than "Mrs. Mary Brant," and he left his duties as Indian agent to be performed by his deputy, Major Butler, for a couple of years, though anxious to secure to himself the credit for anything of importance which was done during that time. Refusing to look upon his position as civil only, he wrote to Lord George Germaine recommending the enlistment of certain corps and other impracticable measures entirely out of his province. As it was marked "On His Majesty's Service," Haldimand opened this letter[1] in Quebec and forwarded it open to England, which he need not have done since he knew it would bring down upon himself a reprimand from the minister. Lord Germaine's censure even ex-

[1] See appendix H.

ceeded his expectations, and the general, from this solitary instance, has been stigmatized by posterity as a person who opened private letters.

Colonel Johnson acknowledged that he had been infringing upon the rights of the commander-in-chief, and Germaine agreed with Haldimand that he was not a proper person to be at the head of Indian affairs. He was superseded by his cousin, Sir John Johnson, Sir William's son. This gentleman had not the genial open-heartedness of his father, but being a most bitter Tory became of good service to the British by raising and commanding "The King's Royal Regiment of New York." He spread desolation about that part of the country wherein had lain his own possessions before they were confiscated by the rebels, burned the traitorous village of Caughnawaga, and made beacons of many farmhouses, besides bringing in a number of prominent rebels as prisoners. Like Joseph Brant, he had personal wrongs to revenge, and unlike his cousin, Guy, Sir John stood at his post though the confused state of his private affairs called for his attention and he had been granted leave of absence. The general reports:—"It would be endless and difficult to enumerate to Your Lordship the Parties that are continually Employed upon the back Settlements. From the Illinois Country to the Frontiers of New York there is a continued succession. I must do Colonel Johnson and the officers who have the direction of this Service the Justice

to acquaint Your Lordship that they have paid great attention to it."

Major Ross, of the 34th Regiment, was another champion of this sort of warfare, and the account of his forced march towards the nest of rebels at Warrensborough, twelve miles from Schenectady, through heavy rain in the autumn of 1781, his burning of over seven miles of settlement, including one hundred farms, three mills, a large public granary, and his destruction of cattle and stock of all kinds, is hardly rendered agreeable reading in our day by the statement that he harmed no woman or child. Ross was pursued by 1,200 Continentals and militia, but defeated them, though his men, almost exhausted with fatigue and hunger, had to live upon captured horses before they reached Carleton Island. Early in the spring of 1782, before the ice had left the lake and rivers, Major Ross led a party up Lake Ontario, presumably for Niagara but in reality to take post at Oswego. The destination was kept secret for fear the rebels should forestall them. The expedition was successful, and the restoration of the fort, so long delayed by the difficulty of transporting provisions to it, gave great satisfaction to the Indians, who declared that the good old times of Sir William Johnson had come again.

Beset as they were by foes on every hand, the general was most anxious that his subordinates should keep on good terms with one another, but

he had often to play the peacemaker, as between De Peyster at Detroit and Sinclair at Michillimakinak for example. To the former he wrote August 10th, 1780:—"I am persuaded you all think too liberally to suffer any little differences of opinion (if such there is) to lead you from that sense of duty which distinguishes the perfect officer from the lukewarm crowd. You would therefore do well to lay open to Lieut. Gov. Sinclair whatever reports of the kind may have reached you, whether by Letter or otherwise, with the names of those who have circulated them, and I shall desire him to do the same for your information, by which means these Disturbers of Tranquillity and of the Public Service may be brought to light and discouraged." To another he says:—"Nothing can more conduce to the Reputation of Officers than to relinquish little personal considerations when necessary to promote the public service." He could give a royal snub to a presumptuous subordinate. Of one such he writes:—"As to his criticisms on the regulations of Indian affairs at the posts, they were not formed to gratify the vanity of commanders but for the benefit of the service." Jehu Hay, lieutenant-governor of Detroit in 1784, inadvertently let slip the remark, in one of his letters to headquarters, "Much less can I boast of having realized 25 or 30 thousand pounds at the Expense of my Country." He was pounced upon immediately—did he mean to insinuate that anyone else had done so?

Hay had to explain that he was referring to himself alone.

Not only were there disagreements between officers at different posts, but frequently those at the same station could not dwell in unity. The Indian superintendent was naturally inclined to think himself of more importance than the officer in command of the garrison, since he had by far the larger number of warriors at his disposal, and he would try to claim superior army rank. The burning question of precedence affected every branch of the service. At the change of rulers, Captain Schank, of the navy, wrote to Carleton that he was unwilling to serve on the lakes unless a particular recommendation and a full explanation of his rank were left for the new governor, as he was afraid that his banishment to fresh water might hinder his advancement on the sea.

Captain Fraser, of the Royal Highland Emigrants, had apparently a goodly store of the national sensitiveness to slights, and complained of juniors being put over his head while he was left to be governed by boys, sutlers and mechanics. He pushed his grievances somewhat too far, and though he affirmed that in his twenty-six years of service he had never needed a reproof from a superior, he found, as is shown by a letter of July 13th, 1780, that General Haldimand could break the rule:—"My willing Approbation upon all occasions of your Zeal and attention to the King's

Service ought to have spared me the necessity of taking notice of a Passage in your letter of the 2nd Instant, where, Complaining of the bad Behaviour of the Mississaugas, you say that were you to use much Reproach to them you might afterwards be accused of adding them to our Enemies. While I observe to you that this is a very improper Allusion to my Letter of the 12th Feb. (where it is mentioned as a Consequence likely to follow the usage of harsh measures with Indians, in our present weak State, and applicable to Myself alone) I wish to acquaint you that it is only expected of officers to whom I may have occasion to write letters upon the subject of the King's Service, readily and punctually to execute their Contracts, without reflecting or remarking upon them except when the Service may receive benefit therefrom, in which Case I shall always be happy to receive Information, and shall expect it as a duty from all officers to suggest to me whatever may appear to them necessary."

He was a rigid disciplinarian, this governor-general, but not unkind to youthful offenders whose faults arose from mere ignorance of army rules, as may be gathered from the allowances which he made in the case of Lieutenant Glennie of the Royal Engineers. There was always a lack of good surveyors at the upper posts, and Haldimand, being assured of this lad's ability and industry, put in a strong plea for him when he was brought before a court martial

for insubordination, advising that he be sent to some post where his talents and application would atone for his contempt of superior officers less learned than himself.

There were no disagreements at Carleton Island during the winter of 1780-81, reported Captain Fraser, though the garrison had been "of all nations, colours and professions," and one may guess at the restraint put upon tempers when good order was kept among Highlanders, Germans, French, English and Indians penned up in a fort. The Canadians were considered the best workers, "though many of them are lost to a sense of their duty and much inclined to favour the plans of the Enemy." Fifteen hundred of these doubtful subjects were settled about Detroit, and "the Indians," said Major de Peyster, "are perfect Free Masons when entrusted with a secret by the Canadians, most of them being much connected by marriage."

Off by itself in the northern wilderness, Michillimakinak was the most difficult post to control, as well as the most expensive to maintain, and the bills sent in by its commander would make the governor-general feel like a modern pater-familias with an extravagant household. He sanctioned Sinclair's plan for moving his post from the mainland to an adjacent island, but would not agree to his calling it anything but Michillimakinak, though the fort might be shortened to "Makinak." "I have never known any advantage result from changing

the names of Places long inhabited by the same People."

The English ministry never ceased to find fault with the enormous cost of supporting the frontier posts, and His Excellency passed on the complaints to the officers in charge of them, though he fully sympathized with their difficulties. Innumerable opportunities for dishonesty never fail to raise up innumerable people ready to take advantage of them. As MacLean in command at Niagara stated it, there was a rule "long adopted in this part of the world, that whatever can be got from government is well got, where no censure can ensue."

Haldimand not only decreed that no official should be ever so slightly interested in trade,[1] but he forbade the purchase of stores from local merchants and arranged that all necessary goods should be bought in England or Quebec. Often through carelessness in packing, the Indian presents were damaged before they were seen by the recipients, and the food spoiled so as to be unfit for use. If stores could have been taken direct to their various destinations, there would have been less risk as well as less expense, but after the tedious Atlantic voyage the St. Lawrence had to be ascended in small boats. Flat-bottomed, sharpened and tilted fore and aft, square-sailed, with five rowers and a helmsman, these batteaux had to be lightened at every portage and towed through the rapids.

[1] See appendix I.

From the storehouse at Carleton Island the goods were shipped in a larger vessel up Lake Ontario to the long Niagara portage, which had to be traversed before Lake Erie and Detroit could be reached. The *Ontario*, a newly-built, armed "snow," employed in this service, sailed from Niagara in November, 1780, with the commander of that post, Colonel Bolton, on leave of absence, one of his lieutenants, and a detachment of the 34th Regiment, as well as other travellers. The vessel was last seen near a place called Golden Hill, thirty miles below Niagara, but she foundered in an autumnal gale, and no trace of captain, crew or passengers was ever discovered. There were three gun-boats on the upper lakes, besides a row galley for carrying despatches.

Stores for Michillimakinak were sometimes sent by way of the Ottawa and French rivers, an arduous journey of 251 leagues with 34 carrying places. Lieutenant-governor Sinclair tried to find a shorter route from his post to Niagara by way of Lake Huron and Lake Simcoe, portaging thence to Toronto. Traffic did not end at Michillimakinak but continued via the Great Portage at the western end of Lake Superior. This interior trade was estimated at 40,000 pounds annually, and 500 men were employed in it. The general made many suggestions for reducing expenses at the posts—the employment of prisoners in farming, the encouragement of soldiers to supply themselves with fresh

fish and game instead of the salt pork they considered a luxury, the raising of cattle, the cultivation of vegetable gardens around the forts—even to the saving of powder by stopping the practice of vessels saluting one another. To Lord Germaine he wrote:—"Retaining the Indians in our Interests has been attended with a very heavy expense to Government, but their attachment has, alone, hitherto preserved the Upper Country, and the Devastation they have made upon the Susquehanna and Mohawk rivers has distressed the Enemy prodigiously, their settlements in these parts have been entirely broken up, their stock of every kind destroyed, and the inhabitants driven for subsistence into the interior parts of the country."

Such valuable irregular troops must be fed or they would desert, and then a far larger number of regulars would be needed to hold the posts. But it was essential to make the Indians understand that they owed their living to the king, not to the trader. The commanding officer who did his duty in this respect was certain to be abused, and Haldimand himself incurred the enmity of the mighty army of traders by enforcing the regulations concerning passes for the upper country and limiting the number. Neither boat nor individual could leave or enter the region without a permit, not even Madame Langlade, seeking the small pleasure excursion of travelling in a canoe from Montreal to join her husband at Michillimakinak. The gen-

eral granted her request but advised her to defer her journey till more peaceable times. The officers in charge of the posts were directed to detain all suspicious parties for a season and to send notice of their appearance and probable intentions to the next station. Some merchants to whom passports were refused went so far as to make their complaints direct to Lord George Germaine, whose ear was ever open to such communications. Placed upon the defensive, Haldimand, on October 25th, 1780, replied to the minister:—"From every intelligence that could be procured, the Indian country in general, and military Posts in particular (which are the resorts of the traders) have been menaced by Invasion these 3 yrs. past and these reports have proved to have been well founded. The inconsiderable number of Troops, thinly Distributed among the Posts and (until lately) their weak state of Defence rendered imprudent to risk the large quantitys of goods which the Clamour of the merchants obliged me, contrary to my judgment, to acquiesce in their sending up—the Capture of which must have essentially militated against the King's Service."

With the sole idea of doing his duty he had acted entirely upon the reports received from officers at the upper posts, on whom alone he could "confide with any degree of safety to the King's interests—" and he had ever enjoined them to be just. So great a demand for passes since the war

began, and since the Indians were engaged in fighting and not in the fur trade, had led him to suspect that the merchants were covertly supplying the rebels with goods and the justice of his suspicions had been proven. Still the clamour for passes continued, as the traders were careless of their country's danger so long as their own fortunes were being made. The general asked Lord Germaine to give him the names of the aggrieved persons that he might enquire into their complaints, adding, "It is most painful to me that Representations should reach Your Lordship without a possibility of Explaining them fully to you, ignorant whence they originate."

To a London merchant he wrote that though individuals might suffer in his schemes for defence, the end would be for the general advantage. It was certainly to the advantage of the king, his master, that he should discover the rascality of a certain Niagara firm and in one single item save £5,000 for the Crown. He thought it good policy to repay Indian services by granting them the rebel lands they should win, "provided they make such conquests without any expense to His Majesty and that it does not interfere with any rights or claim of the Five Nations or any other nation of Indians."

The year before Haldimand came to Canada as governor, it had been decided that the lawless district northwest of the Ohio, nominally a part of

Quebec province, should be under the jurisdiction of the lieutenant-governor of Detroit, who had proceeded to occupy the chief post, Vincennes on the Wabash. On his recall a year later, no garrison being left, the French inhabitants were easily won over to congress, chiefly through the instrumentality of one Père Gibault, who absolved them from their allegiance to King George. On August 27th, 1778, Haldimand wrote to Henry Hamilton, then lieutenant-governor at Detroit:—"I must therefore desire that you will immediately and by the safest and most expeditious conveyance, acquaint me with your idea of the practicability of recovering possession of the Illinois and of the means . . . . you should advise to be employed for that purpose with a probability of success."

But Hamilton did not wait to consult ways and means with his superior officer. He was one of Lord Germaine's correspondents and felt himself at liberty to act upon his own responsibility. In September he announced to Haldimand that he had planned an expedition to the banks of the Wabash where he said:—"The Spanish are feeble and hated by the French; the French are fickle and have no man of capacity to advise or lead them; the rebels are enterprising and brave, but want resources and the Indians can have their resources but from the English, if we act without loss of time in the favourable conjuncture." The suddenness of the move alarmed the governor-general, to whom had been

given no opportunity to send orders, nor to plan for reinforcements. What might happen at Detroit whence Hamilton had withdrawn all the people who could manage the Indians, what might happen to Hamilton himself so far from support were anxious questions to the commander-in-chief. Nor were his fears unfounded, for the next letter he received from his subordinate was dated August 26th, 1779, Williamsburgh gaol, where he had been for seventy-five days and was to be for many more.

How he had set out from Detroit in October of the previous year with his band of French Canadians, British regulars and Indians vying with one another in the courage and patience with which they surmounted the difficulties of the long toilsome journey by way of Lake Erie and the Maumee River, portaging thence to the head waters of a tributary of the Wabash; how he had taken peaceable possession of Vincennes, causing its 400 inhabitants to renew their oath of allegiance; how he had spent the winter at the post, and had at last been treacherously betrayed into the hands of the rebel leader, George Rogers Clark, who had treated him and his few remaining faithful followers with a barbarity conspicuous even in barbarous times—all this was most unpleasant reading for the governor in far Quebec. He classed the expedition as "a second *tour de Bourgoyne*," and remarked that had the 2nd Company of the 14th Regiment—which he had placed in the district while he was in command

at New York—been left there, the unfortunate episode would never have occurred.

He sent an urgent letter to General Washington calling for Hamilton's release from his irons and his loathsome dungeon, lest he himself should be obliged to resort to similar extremities with the American officers then in his power; but it took time to effect an exchange, and the adventurous lieutenant-governor remained in his pitiable plight for more than a year. Brant retaliated upon a portion of Clark's army under Colonel Lockerby in October, 1781, when sixty-four out of one hundred were taken prisoners, the colonel and five officers killed. In the spring of the same year the settlement at Bowman's Creek was destroyed, and likewise the rebel fort in Cherry Valley, a district by no means so Arcadian as its name would suggest.

What did he think of it all, this stern, elderly gentleman, directing affairs from his Château of St. Louis, watching the growth of his own vine and fig-tree and decreeing that those of others should be uprooted? He was not responsible for the system of border warfare, any more than he was responsible for the war itself. He had found the evil principle of retaliation by force supreme in the world when he came into it, and the special American variety fully established when he stepped upon the continent. He was aware that the only way to preserve the great western country and its remunerative fur trade for the king, his master, was to

drive back the advanced settlers. Since it was the Indian lands they were taking, he used the Indians as a scourge, but that he often wearied of the weapon is apparent from one of his letters to Lord Germaine in which he says that an exaggerated importance has been given to small and harassing excursions which merely serve to exasperate the rebels. As allies he came to despise "the copper-coloured gentry":—"In all excursions undertaken by the troops in this war, there has not been a single instance where the Indians have fulfilled their engagements, but influenced by caprice, a dream, or a desire of protracting the war to obtain presents, have dispersed and deserted the troops."

After the Cherry Valley expedition, when Brant's following was praised for its moderation, it is reported that His Excellency refused to receive Major Butler, but he wrote him concerning the conduct of his Indians that "such indiscriminate vengeance taken even upon the Treacherous and cruel enemy they are engaged against is useless and disreputable to themselves, as it is contrary to the disposition and maxims of their King whose cause they are fighting." The raids might be necessary in order to keep in good humour savage allies to whom neutrality was impossible, but from the very beginning of his rule Haldimand encouraged them to make permanent settlements about the forts, bought hoes and seed corn to coax them into tilling the ground, and had grist and sawmills erected at

Niagara. At one time there were 4,000 Indians clustered about that post, but they were gradually drawn off to form villages at Buffalo Creek, and Kadargaras, forty miles above Fort Erie, where refugees from Virginia betook themselves.

At the cessation of hostilities in 1783, Haldimand observed that the Indians would make the United States feel the difference between a war carried on under the restraint of English troops and one conducted in their own way. Already they objected bitterly to the truce:—"Upon our agreeing to obey the orders of the General, the perfidious rebels have taken advantage of our inactivity and have come like thieves in the night, when the Shawanese warriors were out at their Hunting Grounds, surrounded one of their towns, and murdered all their women and children. . . . We are persuaded there is no reliance to be had in the faith or promises of the rebels, whose unparalleled cruelties lately destroyed the poor Moravian Indians, their near neighbours, who never went to war against them or any other people; yet under the cloak of friendship they murdered them in cold blood, and reduced their bones to ashes that the murderers might not be discovered."[1] The wholesale massacre of these Christian converts was horribly revenged upon the chief agent therein, Colonel Crawford, and his rebel party, an "unhappy event" which no one regretted

[1] Extract of speech to MacLean at Niagara by warriors of the Six Nations, December 11th, 1782.

more than General Haldimand. When we consider the treacherous attack on the Shawanese at Standing Stone Village; the horrible cruelties practised upon some of Butler's Rangers made prisoners; the murder by the Virginians of friendly Delawares near Fort Pitt; the good cause red men had for complaint that despite their kindness to ailing or helpless prisoners, captured Indians were uniformly treated by the rebels with the utmost barbarity—there is no reason for either Great Britain or the United States to reprobate one another about the conduct of border warfare

CHAPTER X

THE GOVERNOR

WHEN Frederick Haldimand returned to Canada in 1778, as governor-in-chief, the Quebec Act had been four years on trial, and was proving no more satisfactory to the ever-increasing number of English-speaking residents than the previous ten years' attempt at the introduction of British civil law had been pleasing to the French. The latter disliked trial by jury because to their understanding it meant that the jurymen decided the law as well as the value of evidence in all cases. They were "averse to taxation, from their narrow way of thinking and attachment to money"; to the English regulations respecting tithes and rents; and to the rules of primogeniture which deprived them of their time-honoured custom of dividing and subdividing their farms among their children.

"No people in the world," said Haldimand, "are more bigoted in their laws and usages." He approved of the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, of the restoration of the French laws and the maintenance of the French language, as measures expedient for the state of affairs at the time, believing that "the Quebec Act alone has prevented and can in any degree prevent the emissaries of

France and the rebels from drawing over the Canadian clergy and *noblesse*." There were some of the French who objected to the act on the very ground that it enforced duties to the church and to seigniors which had been optional since the conquest, but the majority were fairly well satisfied, and it was decreed that there should be a Canadian judge on the bench in each district. As Haldimand had foretold, delegates from the minority were sent to England to pray for the repeal of the Quebec Act, "all under the pretence of promoting Public Utility, though too often in the mean and interested views of Private advantage." He told the "old subjects" that they need not try to force their will upon the "new subjects." His own instructions were, in effect, "if a majority throughout the Province say House, grant their desire; if they say no House, the British parliament will not force that form of Government upon them." Those who strove for the establishment of a House of Assembly claimed it on the ground "that His Majesty's protestant subjects in the Province are sufficiently numerous to summon an assembly," knowing full well that the necessary oaths would exclude the Roman Catholics as effectually as they were at that time excluded from the British House of Commons. Those who opposed it advised that "before any change is made, be sure it is agreeable to the land-holders. . . . Not a Canadian land-owner in fifty ever once thought on the subject, and were it to be proposed to him

he would readily declare his incapacity to judge of the matter. Although the Canadian peasants are far from being a stupid race, they are . . . ignorant from want of instruction . . . Let the Curate of each parish read to the people a paper . . . as to the nature of representative government, and then find out if they want it. There should be a free school in every parish with English masters, if the Canadians are to be English, though they can be Roman Catholics if necessary. The Quebec Act gives power to Council to make laws, and if the people are not free and happy the Council is to blame, not the Act."[1]

Haldimand found himself called upon to govern with the aid of a legislative body, appointed by the king, and limited to twenty-three members, but even among these he found opponents of the Quebec Act. One called Allsopp[2] headed the opposition, and exerted himself to make matters as uncomfortable for the present governor as he had done for his two predecessors. It was not until 1783 that Haldimand had him suspended for sedition. The colonial secretary under the French régime had found it profitable to keep governor and intendant at sword's points, so that the one might act as a check on the other, but the British minister encouraged private individuals to recount their grievances directly to himself. Thus Haldimand was

[1] Finlay, to Nepean, October 22nd, 1784.

[2] See appendix J.

surrounded with spies who knew that their calumnies would always obtain a hearing if presented in a manner flattering to the home government.[1] The governor soon lost confidence in the attorney-general,[2] and had such grave doubts of the loyalty of some of his councillors that he wrote to Germaine that he might be obliged to act more than he could wish upon his own responsibility.

In his judgment it seemed unwise to lay before the council certain orders he had received from England relating to alterations in the laws of property,[3] calculated to favour the old subjects at the expense of the new, for he said:—"A happier moment than the present is to be wished for undertaking this business." He tried to form a privy council with members he could trust, but the opposition wrote to the minister that His Excellency was withholding his instructions, and Germaine forthwith notified the governor that his civil proceedings could not merit the approval that had been given to his military measures. The merchants had no complaints against him on the grounds of partiality, but the council had a right to object if anything that the king wished them to know was not placed before the whole body. The purity of his motives was unquestioned, but such disobedience if persisted in could not be passed over.

Being thus debarred from forming a small execu-

[1] See appendix K.
[2] See appendix L.
[3] See appendix M.

tive, the governor laboured on with the whole wrangling set, though it seemed ridiculous to bring before them measures for regulating the price of wheat when some of the council were dealers in that commodity. In his address to them in January, 1780, he said: —"I should hardly have called you together had not the high price of the first necessary of Life, circumstanced as we are, commanded my attention, and required my asking your advice and assistance in providing against accidents, while the American Troubles continue, and preventing as much as in us lies His Majesty's good subjects in this province suffering from either Scarcity or Want." He did not think it expedient to put up public granaries until a time of greater tranquillity, but suggested non-exportation, since the merchants declared that fixing the price would be illegal and as bad as taxation. There was a demand for wheat in New York, and speculators in Canada had no love for the governor who prohibited "for a limited time the exportation of wheat, peas, oats, biscuit flour, or meat of any kind, also of horned cattle." Nor did the *habitants* relish the ordinance:—"That all grain, cattle, etc., must be ready at short notice to leave farms to be put under military protection in case of an attack by rebels." Few of those forced to use substitutes for flour (because the severe weather prevented the grinding of wheat) realized that their governor was anxiously seeking a means for the immediate reduction in the cost of provisions. He had finally to buy

flour at a high price to feed the poor, and his own name heads one subscription list with twenty pounds for their relief. He directed the captains of militia to discover, if possible, who was holding the wheat, of which there was known to be plenty in the country. The matter was a serious one for the commander-in-chief of troops that had to be fed, instead of feeding themselves out of their pay, as in England, and there seemed to be a wide-spread inclination to make money out of the government. On July 26th, 1781, Lord Germaine complimented Haldimand on his having "found means to subsist the troops without subjecting the public to the exactions of interested individuals."

Councillors Allsopp, Cuthbert, L'Evêque and Grant, all wheat-dealers, gathered about themselves a loud if not large party to cry out against the tyranny of the new ruler, even in his endeavour to lessen legal and official fees, which he declared to be generally "far too high, and more than the people of the province can bear." A foe to monopolies of every description, whether in the fish trade or in the hiring of post horses and carriages, he soon had the liquor-dealers against him, for there was a "ring" in rum as well as in wheat, and he broke it by decreeing that "the pernicious article" was to be brought from England, since the revenue suffered by its non-importation.

One of the governor's few friends, Dr. Adam Mabane, was head of the military hospital, but it

was abolished, much to Haldimand's chagrin, not only on his friend's account, but because his soldiers would justly dislike the promiscuity of the other institutions. Asylums for the insane were, of course, unknown, and we read of a baker's wife, who had been a grass widow for two years, asking to have refunded the board money she had paid out for a lunatic in the general hospital, of whom she prayed the government would in future take charge.

Some interested persons strove to make it appear that according to the Quebec Act the estates of the Ursuline nuns at Three Rivers had become vested in the king, but the governor interfered in their behalf, and he befriended the same order in Quebec by gaining for them and for their sister communities exemption from the payment of *quint* and other dues on account of their poverty and care of the sick. The lady superintendent of the general hospital had to thank His Excellency for eight casks of flour sent to her during a hard winter in Quebec, and there is abundant other evidence that he was not unmindful of any of the resolutions he had jotted down in his journal upon assuming his charge: "To give protection and to have much regard for the orders and religious houses; to be always polite and obliging but also to be always watchful; not to be adopted by either party; to ask time to consider things of any importance, but also to make it an inviolable rule to do whatever has been promised; not to become

heated in conversation, rather to leave the room under any pretext, as was the case with a bishop, who prayed in order to give time for his blood to cool; to return immediately, to listen with patience and take time for deliberation; to favour commerce and distinguish the merchants who deserve it; to have respect for the officers which is due them, to associate with them at table and in parties with the Canadians, and to require from them good conduct and the regulation of their expenses; to have good manners and show confidence in the chief justice and the procureur general and to consult them as occasion arises; to treat in the same way the Catholic clergy and make known to them the danger that their religion and their rights will be in if the rebels, and especially the Bostonnais, gain the upper hand, for it is these last who are the most interested in the reduction of Canada in order to people it with their own kind, assure their independence, and make themselves masters of commerce; their intolerance should be made known, the *curés* should speak of it."

He might have added that these "perjured subjects" had placed "the act of the British parliament for shutting up the port of Boston" beside the heinous offence of passing "a bill for establishing popery and arbitrary power in Quebec."

Even the more intelligent classes in Canada displayed what Haldimand deemed a shocking want of sagacity in being so blind to their own interests

as not to see that if "enslaved" by the Americans they would be entirely shut out from commercial concerns. By a vigilant watch over the clergy he kept them within the limits of duty, "at least within those of decency," but had ever to combat their "attachment to France, concealed under their zeal for the Preservation of their Religion." The bishop was under the influence of the Jesuits,[1] whom he feared as rebel sympathizers, but there were now so few of them in Canada, and these were such old men, that the governor did not think it worth while to interfere with them. But he set down his foot upon the introduction of any more priests from France, and sent back two that came out from the seminary of St. Suplice in Paris to join their order in Montreal, judging the relations between the two institutions to be already over close for the safety of the province. The four priests from Savoy whom he was bringing out to fill Canadian vacancies were captured by the enemy *en route*, and landed in Europe, but the governor asked for their return, or for others of the same nationality.

The people did not care what order of priests celebrated mass, so that they were allowed to enjoy the ceremonies of their religion, but the heads of the church were displeased, though the general gave frequent instances of his resolve to support their authority. When the inhabitants of Rivière Ouelle complained against their *curé*, he referred

[1] See appendix N.

them to the bishop, and sharply censured the captain of militia for obeying the people in warning their priest to leave. To keep the house of Bourbon, Britain's foe, from gaining an incalculable influence in Canada through her clergy was his leading idea, and for a vacancy in the bishopric he recommended M. de St. Hubert, sometime missionary to the Illinois.

Another cause of complaint against Haldimand's civil rule were the *corvées*, as if he had invented them. Apparently this was one of their ancient laws and usages which French Canadians did not care to perpetuate, though in the old days they had been paid nothing for their labour, but ever since the conquest had been given wages at current rates. Whether the service required was sawing and chopping wood for the garrisons, building huts for Loyalist refugees, improvement of roads, manning vessels to protect the fisheries, or transporting provisions to the upper posts, Haldimand exercised the greatest care to see that it did not bear too heavily upon any one section of the community. "Thorough" was the qualifying adjective that might be applied to every department of his rule, whether frontier raids or *corvées*, secret service, or public works. He did not create systems, but he employed those already in existence with a conscientious energy so unprecedented as to bring down upon himself the accusation of tryanny that still clings to his name.

There was much hauling of timber and many labourers required for the building of barracks and storehouses at Sorel, where the government, in 1780, accepted Haldimand's advice and bought the whole seigniory with a view to having a stronghold against the expected rebel advance by way of the River St. Francis. The fortifications of Quebec itself scarcely deserved the name, being of wood, now in a rotting condition, and it was their commanding height alone which preserved them from attack, since the guns were only eighty-one cannon and a few mortars brought up from old frigates. The governor decided to take steps towards the building of a citadel of permanent character in stone, "in such a situation as, assisted by the Engineers, I shall be able to judge is most advantageous." The wrong tools were sent out in the first place, and that he should ask for a corps of artificers merely surprised the home government, but he did what he could without them, employing Loyalists on the works, and was well satisfied with his engineers, headed by Captain Twiss. Secrecy seemed to be necessary in this as in every branch of the service. The governor issued instructions that the timber required for the works should be secured as quietly as possible, "to prevent the inferences of curious people and the enhancement of the price."

Without efficient miners and quarriers it would be the work of years to carry out the proposed plans upon the rock of Quebec, but meantime

every possible advantage was taken of the ground, and detached redoubts were placed here and there on Cape Diamond. It was not safe to send the citadel designs to England during the war, lest they should fall into improper hands, and when Captain Twiss took them over himself in 1784, he reported that Lord Townshend showed no interest therein. Haldimand's course of action always met with the approval of the king and his ministers when he had conquered his difficulties without their aid or encouragement. Knowing what it meant in his own case to receive no sympathy from masters he was faithfully serving, he never grudged it to those working under him for the good of the public. The letters of Captain Twiss clearly show that he counted upon the governor's active interest in all he had to tell him, even about the marvellous air balloons he had seen in London, and the discovery of the new planet "Georgium sidus." This was the man to whom was entrusted the construction of four small canals on the St. Lawrence, the first in America.

Colonel Haldimand witnessed the distressful loss of life in the rapids while descending the Great River with Amherst in 1760, and he had since been forcibly impressed with the immense cost and labour of transporting provisions to Carleton Island. Obstacles, in this man's mind, did not call for surrender but for removal, whether they consisted of rebel sympathisers or rocks in the river. His engineer began operations by attacking the jutting points so

hard to circumnavigate in that part of the St. Lawrence lying between its enlargements, Lakes St. Francis and St. Louis. By the end of the season of 1779, the canal at Côteau du Lac could be used, though its walls were made of timber and by no means waterproof. Captain Twiss resolved to rebuild them in stone, and as the work of blasting difficult rocks could be continued all winter, he was able to write to his commander in June, 1780, "I wish Your Excellency could see this post, as I am persuaded it will be formed into locks as useful to navigation as any in the world."

The governor did visit the works in person, and buoyed up by his advice and support, the engineer refused to be discouraged by the want of skilled workmen. In February, 1781, he reported that the canal at Côteau du Lac was "very complete and in good order, and so situated that it cannot possibly receive the least damage from the ice, but many difficulties still remain in the navigation about the Cedars, where a little labour, properly conducted, would be of great advantage to the public." The first canal had three locks, with a depth of two and a half feet on the mitre sills, and was 900 feet long by 7 wide.

The exertions of 1782 were designed to conquer the long portage at the Cascades, and for this purpose channels were cut at Faucille, Split Rock and Trou du Moulin, six feet in width, one of them 400 feet long, the others 200 feet each, and these,

with a later enlargement of locks, did duty until superseded by the Beauharnois Canal in 1845. The western traders being as great gainers as the government through this improvement in navigation, gladly agreed, at a public meeting called for the purpose, to contribute to the cost of construction and maintenance of the canals by the payment of tolls. An average of 260 batteaux a year, contributing twenty-five shillings each trip, brought in an annual revenue of £325; the government boats could pass free.

The governor-general visited Montreal the summer of his arrival in Canada, and it is on record that he was present at a representation of *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, in the College of St. Raphael, 1778; that he gave 100 guineas to the establishment and 50 to the city hospital. The college so honoured was at that time located in the Château Vaudreuil, which used to stand on the corner of St. Paul street and Jacques Cartier square, but was burned at the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the same occasion His Excellency decided to purchase for a government house the Château de Ramezay in Notre Dame street, belonging to William Grant, which he thought might be made strong enough to serve as a citadel in case of insurrection. He was in Montreal again for three months, March 15th to June 15th, 1782, and during that time paid one visit at least to Captain Twiss to see how he was getting on with his canals.

In 1784, "the citizens and burgesses of Notre Dame de Bon Secours" petitioned him to allow the widening of their street by the removal of a postern which prevented the passing of vehicles. Since the "imbecile" walls of Montreal had proved no defence against invaders, there was no objection made to the removal of the gate in question. The previous year His Excellency had authorized a lottery to raise funds for the building of a prison, there being no suitable place of detention for the numbers of rebels brought to Montreal by the frontier raiders, together with those captured on privateers. Many of the Americans being left at large broke their parole and made their escape. It was their comrades who had to suffer for their breach of faith, since the governor, however willing, could grant no more privileges.

Quebec also was short of prison accommodation, as the old French gaol was too insecure to detain even the wives of soldiers and sailors taken up for selling liquor without a license. The house of the Récollets was examined for its fitness as a debtors' prison, but was pronounced unsatisfactory. There were but 1,500 houses in the whole place at this time, Carleton during the siege of 1775-6 having pulled down 500 that he could not defend.

As the war wore on towards its termination, another attempt was made in Montreal to get Parisian priests into the seminary, by a M. Brassier, who tried also to make the people believe that the

Quebec Act would be repealed at the peace, that the council would no longer have power to make laws and therefore the Americans would kill Canadian commerce.

Even while peace negotiations were hovering in the air, Lord Shelburne wrote secretly to the governor—April 22nd, 1782—that a large fleet was preparing at Brest, and should it escape the watchful British squadron, Quebeckers might expect to hear of its arrival in the gulf, adding that although there was no doubt of his zeal and ability successfully to defend the capital, "so great is the determination to retain Quebec, Carleton himself will be sent there, if necessary."

Here was a compliment to a man who had worked as hard as Haldimand to maintain the charge entrusted to him! He wrote at once to Carleton, who had succeeded Clinton in command at New York, stating that he was ready to leave whenever he came, and began to prepare for departure; but Sir Guy replied that he had not left Canada with the intention of ever returning. His decision did not heal the wounded feelings of the governor, who wrote to Townshend in November: —"I have been 43 years an officer, a Stranger to Politics and to a Language which does not proceed from the Heart. My situation is a most painful one, considered as commanding here only until a junior officer shall find it necessary or convenient to supercede me." He fancied his foreign

birth to be the cause. "I never imagined that the Consideration which with Propriety influenced the Conduct of the King's Ministers in the year 1775, could after four years' service be revived to my mortification, in the year 1782, when the state of Public affairs is so materially altered." To Sir Guy Carleton he had written on July 29th:— "I shall neglect nothing which can contribute to the success of this unfortunate war of which I confess to you I could have wished to see the termination, but the circumstances in which I find myself, added to an indisposition which requires resources that this country does not afford, leaves me less regret in quitting." Urged to remain at his post, he consented to wait through the winter, but asked to be allowed then to retire to Europe.

The fleet in question had been intended for Canada, but Lord Rodney met and vanquished both French ships and Spanish. Less successful were the land operations, and galling was it to the governor to hear of Canadians, led by Caughnawaga Indians, going off to see the French fleet and army at the Chesapeake. He sent out parties to try to intercept them on their return and thus prevent exaggerated accounts of French superiority, French victories, and French plans reaching eagerly credulous ears. England's defeats evidently gratified her new subjects and though they came duly "to render Fealty and homage to His Majesty, according to the Ancient Laws, Customs and Usages of

this Province, as they stood and were observed before the year 1760," the governor reported:— "It is with much Concern I acquaint Your Lordship that I have myself perceived Secret Pleasure from the hope Strongly marked in the countenances of many who make their Bows to me."

Still he laboured on for the good of an ungrateful people. He forwarded Canadian timber to the navy yard, was proud to receive the king's thanks for the Nova Scotia masts for his ships and offered to supply the same at Gibraltar. He sent Surgeon Blake, "to investigate, report and use remedial measures in respect to the St. Paul's Bay disease,"[1] that affected the country districts during his régime. He caused a census of the province to be taken, wherein the militia officers were to be called upon to assist the parish priests, and they counted 113,012 in the more thickly settled districts, Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, so that the total number of people was estimated at about 120,000. To Haldimand belongs also the credit of having founded the first public library in Canada, which had an existence of ninety years, and in 1869 was merged into that of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. He may have wished to provide reading other than the British newspapers which so often contained political discussions and articles in sympathy with the rebels. Even the Quebec *Gazette*, the first paper in Canada, founded in 1764

[1] See appendix O.

by Messrs. Brown & Gilmour, from Philadelphia, had to submit to censorship, and on one occasion some accounts of treasonable associations in Ireland which might have proved too suggestive to Canadian malcontents were cut out. It was written of this local sheet:—"When the printer gets a cup too much, which is not seldom, he inclines to the popular cause."

To General Budé, on March 1st, 1779, the governor wrote that Quebec's few resources and its people's ignorance had suggested to him the scheme of opening a public library and that the bishop and the head of the seminary had both promised to assist. Many priests, most of the English and a few of the Canadians had signed the subscription-list, agreeing to pay five pounds at entrance and two pounds annually. In order not to allow their zeal to cool, he asked the directors to prepare a list of desirable books, up to the value of £500. In September he wrote to his friend, Richard Cumberland, the playwright, knowing his taste for letters, and asked him to select works for the proposed library, which he hoped would serve as a bond between old subjects and new; and assured Mr. Cumberland that any favour shown to this enterprise would be considered as personal to himself. In 1780 the books began to arrive, welcomed heartily in some quarters no doubt, though a contemporary says, "There are two ladies in the province, I am told, who read, but both of them are above fifty and

they are regarded as prodigies of erudition." Nevertheless, the Canadian women were better educated than their brothers, many, even of the seigniors, being unable to write their own names. The proclamations issued by the governor at different times, cast a curious side light upon the period:—

"It is ordered that the Shilling loaf of Brown Bread do weigh 5 pounds, 8 ounces, and the Shilling loaf of White Bread do weigh 3 pounds three quarters and that Bakers do mark their Bread with the Initials of their names."

House-holders are obliged to make a foot-path in front of their dwellings, four feet wide, level with their neighbours, and no horse-back riding is allowed thereupon. The street in front of each house is also to be kept clean by the tenant in summer and he must level it free from *cahots* in the winter-time.

"All persons bringing provisions, provender, firewood or anything in a sleigh for the supply of Quebec, shall carry a hoe and shovel that he may use it in levelling *cahots* at any distance within three leagues of the town, under a penalty of five shillings.

"It is ordered that all posts placed in any of the streets of Quebec be immediately removed on pain of 20/.

"No horses or hogs are to be suffered to stray in the streets. If one of the latter be found the Bellman is to proclaim the fact at once and the finder will return it to the owner upon payment of ten

shillings and all charges, but if the hog be not claimed within two days the finder is at liberty to keep it.

"No person shall clean fish upon the public streets, especially large sturgeon, nor throw dust, ashes, water, soot or filth of any kind upon the thoroughfare. In lower town, rubbish is to be placed upon the beach at low tide, and the upper town refuse is to be disposed of in the same way upon the beach outside Palace Gate, near the intendant's palace.

"No one shall beg without a license, nor shoot partridge between March 15th and July 15th."

The inefficiency of the postal service is indicated in the following public notice from the deputy postmaster:—"The Mart of Letters sent from hence last fall by the ship *London*, are now returned into this Office; those Gentlemen who are desirous of having their letters again are requested to give in the Subscriptions, and impressions of the Seals, in order that the right Owners may receive them." June 4th, 1782.

A mail-carrier of Montreal "begs leave to acquaint the Publick that he is obliged to pay for all Letters delivered to him the Day after he receives them; he therefore is under the necessity of requesting that all persons will in future pay for their letters on delivery, otherwise he must return them to the office, and as change is difficult to be procured, their own *Bons* or notes will be taken in payment."

The governor of the province was obliged to depend chiefly upon his scouts for news of the outside world. He suggested that they always appear dirty, as if they had been long in the woods, and advised them to make use of a hollow tree for the reception of rebel newspapers. One of Major Carleton's expedients to get possession of rebel letters, supposed to be passing to and from the house of a certain madame in the country, was to send a smart young lad to court her servant girl. All intercepted papers were delivered to the governor sealed, along with their bearer under a strong guard, as he wished no news to be made public till it was authenticated.

Haldimand hated the necessary evil of constant espionage, and the man who said he encouraged informers was arrested and made to eat his words. To a correspondent the governor wrote one winter that he was buried under a mass of papers which he hoped to reduce to order before spring. Method and exactness characterized all the workings of his clear brain, and with the help of his secretaries he plodded patiently through the mass of documents, dictating the necessary replies to the British ministry, to commanders at distant posts, to secret intelligence agents everywhere.

As it was the king's express desire, he consented to remain in Canada till the peace negotiations were concluded, though well aware that he would have to renew his wrestling with agitators bent on seizing

the opportunity for a change in the form of government. It was his own opinion that alterations in the Quebec Act might now be made with prudence, but though easy to repeal, it would be hard to replace. Knowing the men who were clamouring for a legislative assembly, he could not credit them with disinterested motives, nor did he believe that the establishment of such a body would justify the annual expenditure of the £12,000 necessary for its subsistence. If an elective body had been at the head of affairs in 1775, he was convinced that Canada would now have been a fourteenth state.[1]

[1] On Haldimand's recommendation, the council passed a *habeas corpus* ordinance in April, 1784. The discussion of this ordinance was interrupted by the first request for the admission of the public to the debates of the council. By a vote of thirteen to four, the public were excluded.

Haldimand was distinctly prejudiced against the advocates for an assembly. He never sympathized with popular government. He discountenanced the desire of the loyalists for an assembly. (Q. 25, p. 302).

CHAPTER XI

THE VERMONT AFFAIR

HALDIMAND'S first encounter with the trouble among the settlers in that part of the country lying between the Connecticut river and Lake Champlain was during his term as commander-in-chief at New York, when he refused the request of Governor Tryon to send troops to disperse certain rioters in that region, who, in his judgment, would be more fitly dealt with by the civil authorities. The difficulties had arisen years before that, even as far back as 1749, when the governor of New Hampshire began to give grants of land in the territory claimed also by New York. A decision in favour of the latter colony was made by the king's ministers, when the matter was referred to them in 1764, but the people of the New Hampshire Grants stoutly declined to be governed by New York or to yield their farms to the claimants whom she was sending in. Two parties displaying legal titles to the same property are liable to come to blows, and when local riots had resulted a majority of the dwellers in the debatable land resolved to have a government of their own. Why should not a new state called Vermont be received into the confederation? Ethan Allen and his Green

Mountain Boys defied the sheriff of Albany to settle real estate squabbles, and they showed their mettle likewise by the capture of the forts on Lake Champlain at the beginning of the revolutionary war. When it was well under way, the embryo state of Vermont made, on January 15th, 1777, an individual declaration of independence:—"Whereas the Honourable the Continental Congress did on the 4th of July, last, declare the United States in America to be free and independent of the Crown of Great Britain; which declaration we most cordially acquiesce in. And whereas by the said declaration the arbitrary acts of the Crown are null and void in America. Consequently the jurisdiction by said Crown granted to the New York government over the people of the New Hampshire Grants, is totally dissolved."

New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts were at first not unwilling to recognize Vermont as a state, but the southern members of the confederacy were averse to disturbing the balance of power by the admission of another northern constituency and deemed it dangerous also to establish a precedent whereby their own back settlements might any day form themselves into states. New York's steady opposition caused her to be regarded by the aspirant as "a more detested enemy than Great Britain," but the continental congress supported her, decreeing:—"That the government attempted to be established by the people of Vermont could derive

no countenance or justification from any act or resolution of Congress."

The United States now present so strong a front to the world that one is apt to forget the weak and disjointed units of which they were composed. So fierce had been the rivalry among the colonies ever since their foundation, that it was a matter of surprise that they could unite for any purpose and the stability of their union was questionable throughout the revolutionary war.

"The province of Georgia is ours," wrote Sir Henry Clinton to Haldimand, in 1779, and the following year it was currently reported that South Carolina had returned to her allegiance. That Vermont should do so was considered extremely probable—in England—and on March 3rd, 1779, Lord George Germaine directed Clinton, the British commander at New York to open negotiations with her. To Haldimand also he wrote:—"The drawing over the Inhabitants of the country they call Vermont to the British Crown appears a matter of such vast importance for the safety of Canada, and as affording a means of annoying the northern revolted Provinces, that I think it right to repeat to you the King's wishes that you may be able to effect it, though it should be attended with considerable Expence." Haldimand replied that he would do his best to reclaim the people of Vermont, though he considered them "a profligate banditti."

How Sir Henry progressed he told in a letter to

the Canadian governor, dated September 9th, 1779: "Another object still remains of the greatest importance, I mean my expectations respecting E. A. whom I have already mentioned to you by several messengers—I saw the moment for tempting him and I believe my offers have been accepted."

The message from Ethan Allen was a verbal one, that gentleman being ever chary of committing himself to writing:—"Upon my promise to use my interest with Government that his District should be a Separate Province, he would join us with at least 4,000 men."

Haldimand was not given to hasty judgments, nor was he of so sanguine a temperament as his colleague to whom he wrote in cipher the next summer:—"I have taken much Pains, by Prisoners and intelligent Loyalists to discover if anything might be effected with Allen and the people of Vermont—I am assured by all, that no dependence can be had in Him—his character is well-known and his Followers or dependents are a collection of the most abandoned wretches that ever lived, to be bound by no Laws or Ties. Allen formed Connections in this Province when he first invaded it, and I make no doubt has Emissaries here now—if you can bring Him over and that he proves faithful, it will be a great Event, but you have everything to suspect from his character—in all events if he should be able to collect about 4,000 Men, I do not think it would be advisable to trust

Him with Them in this Province in its present weak and disaffected Situation (it being impossible for me to collect in any one Situation half that number to oppose Him) for under a Pretence of joining the King's Troops he may watch his opportunity and with the assistance of the Canadians, or upon the appearance of a French flag, seize upon the Province."

The redoubtable Ethan found another tempter in the person of Beverly Robinson, colonel in the Royal Regiment of New York and himself an American, anxious for the relief of his distressed country, in which he desired to know whether Mr. Allen was willing to join in the way that had been reported to him. Most of the Vermont people, he understood, had refused to support "the wild and chimerical schemes" of American independence and should a reunion with Great Britain be approved, a separate government would be formed, and any regiments raised would be commanded by officers of Mr. Allen's choosing. This communication being made known to Governor Chittenden, of the state unrecognized by congress, he was emboldened to write to the President of congress on July 25th, 1780:—"If the United States have departed from the virtuous principles upon which they first commenced the war with Great Britain and have assumed to themselves the power of usurping the right of Vermont, it is time, high time, for her seriously to consider what she is fighting for, and to what purpose she

has been more than five years past Spilling the Blood of her Bravest Sons. This Government has dealt with severity towards the Torys, confiscated some of the Estates, imprisoned some, banished some, hanged some, etc., and kept the remainder in as good subjection as any state belonging to the Union. And they have likewise granted to worthy Whigs in the neighbouring states some part of their unappropriated lands, the inconsiderable avails of which have been faithfully appropriated for the defence of the Northern Frontiers."

Congress took no notice of this epistle and in the autumn Chittenden wrote to Haldimand proposing an exchange of prisoners. To meet the British commissioners—Captain Justus Sherwood and Dr. George Smyth, both American Loyalists—Chittenden appointed Colonel Ira Allen and Major Joseph Fay, who were empowered "to transact such other business as may then be judged proper."

The Canadian governor agreed "that this negotiation should cease and any step that leads to it be forgotten, provided the Congress shall grant the State of Vermont a Seat in their Assembly and acknowledge its independency." He gave orders that during the negotiations no scouting parties should be despatched to the east of the Hudson river nor to any part of the country claimed by Vermont. Ethan Allen stipulated at first that there should also be a cessation of hostilities "against any of the northern posts and frontiers of the State of

New York," but a month later he withdrew the proviso, saying that the cartel was to be with Vermont only, as she was having too much trouble with her usurping neighbour to ask any favours on her behalf. In writing to congress, however, Mr. Allen took credit to himself for the four weeks armistice he had secured to a government which had "but little claim to my protection."

Colonel Beverly Robinson, having received no reply to his letter of the previous year, feared it had gone astray and wrote again, whereupon Ethan Allen in March, 1781, laid the two epistles before congress, a proceeding for which he excused himself to the British emissaries by saying it was known to the country people that such letters had been received and an appearance of openness would disarm suspicion concerning the real nature of the negotiations. To congress he wrote:—"I do not hesitate to say I am fully grounded in the opinion that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree for terms of cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for a union with them; for Vermont of all people would be the most miserable were she obliged to defend the Independence of the United Colonizing States and they at the same time at full liberty to overturn and ruin the Independence of Vermont. I am persuaded when Congress consider the circumstances of this State, they will be more surprised that I have transmitted them the enclosed letters,

than that I have kept them in custody so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress that of the United States, and rather than fail, will retire with the hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains and wage war with human nature at large."

No further information was vouchsafed to congress that year, though there was much going on at the north of Lake Champlain which would have been of intense interest to that body both individually and collectively. The signals Allen arranged with the British to mark the approach of his messengers were "three smoakes on East side of Lake opposite shipping, and at the middle smoake a small white flag hoisted on a staff." When these tokens were observed the British commander had orders to take the messenger on board at once without asking his business.

Ira Allen, Ethan's brother, remained in conference with Sherwood at Isle aux Noix from May 8th to 25th, 1781, but made no particularly good impression, since the British emissary wrote to his chief:—"He has such a cautious and suspicious kind of reserve in all his conduct that I must confess it gives me reason to believe that his journey is only to alarm Congress." And again:—"Col. Allen's Dark and intricate manner of proceeding in a negotiation to which one of His Majesty's oldest and ablest generals has, in the

most Humane, Frank and generous manner, condescended to open a door, obliges me to sometimes view him with contempt and always with suspicion, much strengthened from his coming alone, while I well know they have men much more capable from age and Experience to transact a business of this nature." So strong was the feeling of distrust concerning him that an agent was sent in advance of Colonel Allen's return among his own people, to gather what report he should give them of his mission to Canada. Major Dundas, the British officer whose province it was to attend to the exchange of prisoners which actually took place, formed his own opinion of the "shuffling business"; declared Ira Allen's errand to be a sham; and that he was scheming for delay to see how congress and the "claiming states" would act on the news getting abroad that Vermont had sent a flag on her own responsibility.

Suspicion of the Allens was not confined to the British. General Schuyler of New York State had spies at work watching their movements, and Washington himself was reported to have said that "the People of Vermont, after behaving well in the war, was now Endeavouring to unite with Britain, which, if they persisted in, he would turn his back on the common Enemy and lead his whole force against that State and destroy it Entirely. But if Vermont would stand by him in the Common Cause till the close of the War he would

ensure them to be a 14th State." This would have been entirely satisfactory to the Vermont leaders had they perfect assurance of what the end of the war was to be, but Colonel Allen for one was "determined that Congress shall not have the parcelling of his lands to their avaricious minions. Should Britain by some d——d turn of Fortune gain a victory over the combin'd Fleets, all Europe would not be able to contend with her, and he would give allmost his Fortune to be able at this time to know what will be the fate of America." Schuyler wrote to Washington:—"I heard Allen declare to one Harper that there was a north pole and a south pole, and should a thunder gust come from the south they would shut the door opposite that point and open the door facing the north."

Meanwhile the exchanging of prisoners went briskly forward. On one occasion 117 men, women, and children were delivered up to the Vermont officer at Skenesborough (now Whitehall, N.Y.) in return for twenty-three families of Loyalists. It was surprising how many of the captives in British possession claimed to be from Vermont, and Haldimand reported to Lord Germaine that "some Inhabitants of the neighbouring States begin to retire there for safety." It was dangerous for any of the adjoining countrysides to express sympathy with the trials of Vermont, as the districts to the left and right of her found when she included them within her borders, another shrewd stroke, for by claiming territory as

far as the Hudson river the neutral zone was extended; and if she asked more than congress would ever grant, there was the more likelihood that the limits would be conceded to which she was with some justice entitled. Upon Ira Allen's diplomacy Haldimand reported to Clinton, June 6th, 1781:—"He adduced the Extension of their Jurisdiction as a necessary Preparation to a Reunion, as well to strengthen them against the power of Congress as to aid in reconciling the people to our views, many of the new subjects being well disposed to Government. This is plausible if not sincere. The business is transacted with the utmost Precaution and Secrecy by a Man well acquainted with their Arts, and in whom I have perfect Confidence."

Colonel Allen sent the Canadian governor an account of the June meeting of the Vermont assembly, whereat he had been asked to produce papers relative to his negotiations with the British. These he had purposely left at home, but he made a speech which he was assured had been satisfactory to spies both from the other states and from Canada. His idea was to demand from congress terms which he knew could not be accepted, and then it would be represented by people in favour of government that congress meant to settle nothing till the end of the war, when she would divide Vermont among the various claimants. After the new election he judged that more officers leaning towards the British connection would be placed in

power, "and then the advantage of another denial by Congress, and having the reins of Government in their hands, they will make a resolution so long wished for by many."

Haldimand looked upon the various pretexts for delay with the utmost suspicion, but in the meantime he was glad to have one of his carking cares removed—the fear of an invasion by way of Lake Champlain. "Nothing can be done against this Province without the help of Vermont," he wrote to Clinton, and none knew better than he that should the fortunes of war turn towards Great Britain, Vermont would be profuse in offers of assistance no longer needed, but if the scale showed signs of swinging the other way, she would hasten to make her peace with congress. In six months he judged she would be a valuable acquisition to either side. He told Lord Germaine that the Vermonters, "if once united with Congress, would be very formidable Enemies, having been from their Early Contests with their neighbouring Provinces continually in Arms. They are in every Respect better provided than the Continental Troops, and in their principles more determined. These considerations, with the impossibility of acting from this Province except in great Force (owing to their inhabiting that part of the Country bordering upon Lakes Champlain and George, Hudson and Connecticut Rivers, ready to a man to turn out upon the first alarm with provisions upon their Backs, and pos-

sessed of a Strong Country where they can attack and harrass a Corps in the most advantageous Situation), have always made me anxious to prevent the Union they seem so bent upon accomplishing."

The persistent refusal of the Vermont delegates to commit themselves in writing was one evidence of bad faith, and they had shown no symptoms of their professed desire to overcome the "violent prejudices" of the people of their state against the British connection. Ethan Allen wrote General Schuyler "that notwithstanding the late reports, or rather surmises, of my corresponding with the enemy to the prejudice of the United States, it is totally without foundation"; while to the British he declared "that the people of Vermont were not disposed any longer to assist in establishing a government in America which might subject them and their posterity to New York, whose government was more detested than any other in the known world." Ira seconded the sentiment:—"Sooner than submit to it they would see Congess subjected to the British government, provided Vermont could be a distinct colony on safe and honourable terms." Major Fay, the other Vermont emissary, was no more trusted by Haldimand's agents than Colonel Allen was, though his letters were suavity itself:—"I wish it was in my power to remove every suspicion you may have against the good intentions of the People of Vermont, but I can only assure you of my own and that I have not the least Doubt

you may rest equally assured of such of the others as are made acquainted." The number "made acquainted" was necessarily few, since it would have been an arduous task to explain the subtle policy of these "honourable men" to a scattered population of 30,000, from whom the Tories had been well weeded, leaving a remainder who believed congress to be "next to God Almighty both in Power and Perfection." "Such is the Enthusiasm of the Vulgar for their Idol, Independence," said Haldimand, "that nothing but unavoidable necessity will ever induce them to relinquish it."

For the justification of the chief Vermont agent, should his actions be called in question by his countrymen, the council of the state gave him a paper, signed by half a dozen of the leading men, to this effect:—"Whereas Col. Ira Allen has been with a Flag to the Province of Quebeck for the purpose of settling a Cartel or Exchange of Prisoners, and had used his best Policy by Feigning or Endeavouring to make them believe that the State of Vermont had a desire to Negotiate a Treaty of Peace with Britain, thereby to prevent their immediate Invasion or Incursion upon the Frontiers of this State . . . . we are of the opinion that critical circumstances this state is in, being out of union with the United States and thereby unable to make that vigorous Defence we could wish for—think it to be a Necessary Political measure to save the Frontiers of this State."

To Sir Henry Clinton, Haldimand wrote on October 1st, 1781:—"The Leading men in our interest advise, as a last resource, my issuing a Proclamation, confirming to Vermont the late assumed territory and other privileges, thinking that from the late refusal of these by Congress the people may be inclined to accept of terms from Government. This Proclamation they desire may be followed by a force equal to support the friends of Government who wait for opportunity to declare themselves and to awe those in opposition."

Colonel St. Leger was sent with 1,000 men to occupy Crown Point; and to lull the suspicions of the Vermont people a force under their own general, Enos, was stationed across the lake. The two commanders knew that they were not to come to blows, but their subalterns not being in the secret, a skirmish took place in which a sergeant of the local troops was killed. Colonel St. Leger returned to General Enos, with an apology, the prisoners taken on the occasion, sending also the clothing of the slain soldier with the message that he would be given decent burial, and any of his friends who wished to be present at the same would be permitted to cross the British lines. "What is the meaning of this astounding courtesy?" the people demanded of Ira Allen, and he replied, "Ask St. Leger," who was on the eve of responding with Haldimand's proclamation when disastrous news came from the south—Cornwallis had surren-

dered. Here was the excuse for further delay that Colonel Allen wanted. He notified the Canadian governor that everything had been going on well until the British reverse was reported, but he hoped the general would have patience till the spring, when the number of people who dreaded the arbitrary measures of congress would be greatly increased.

Cornwallis capitulated on October 19th, but it was the middle of November before the news was confirmed in Quebec. Haldimand wrote to the British ministry that it was now out of the question to dream of reclaiming the Vermonters, who were "rioting in the excess of licentious exultation," but Lord Shelburne advised him to get their confidence and make them remain neutral by "open and honourable Dealings, avoiding the least appearance of Insidiousness." To Clinton, Haldimand wrote in the spring of 1782:—"The crisis is arrived when coercion alone must decide the part Vermont will take, and that measure should be determined upon from the minute the troops, directed by Lord George to appear upon their frontiers, shall take post, and must be carried into execution as far as possible, after giving them sufficient notice, by laying waste their country, if they do not accept the terms offered."

On the first day of the same year, General Washington had written to Thomas Chittenden:—"I will only add a few words upon the subject of the

negotiations which have been carried on between you and the enemy in Canada and in New York. I will take it for granted, as you assert it, that they were so far innocent that there never was any serious intention of joining Great Britain in their attempt to subjugate your country; but it has this certain bad tendency: it has served to give some ground to that delusive opinion of the enemy, upon which they in a great measure found their hopes of success. They have numerous friends among us, who only want a proper opportunity to show themselves openly, and that internal disputes and feuds will soon break us in pieces; at the same time the seeds of distrust and Jealousy are scattered among ourselves by a conduct of this kind."

The conduct had to be continued, however, and the Allens must plunge deeper than ever into double dealing to have any hope of impressing their sincerity upon General Haldimand. At the beginning of the negotiations they had declared openly their preference for congress should she grant as good terms as Great Britain; but despairing of getting them, Ethan Allen wrote to the Canadian governor: "It is Liberty they say they are after, but will not extend it to Vermont." His state should be a neutral republic and already were the people so roused against congress that he believed if a vote of the assembly were taken the majority would vote for British connection. As for himself he was willing to wait upon His Excellency at any part of Lake

Champlain where his own life would not be in too great danger, adding in conclusion: "There is a majority in Congress, and a number of the principal officers of the Continental army continually planning against me. I shall do everything in my power to render this state a British Province."

Ira Allen went further still in proposing that Haldimand should enter into a secret treaty "to be signed and ratified by Governor Chittenden, General Allen and the Council, declaring Vermont a British Province." He had been sent by these rulers "to negotiate a reunion, and privately authorized to engage in behalf of Vermont that the authority and most of the populace in that state are desirous to become a British state on the conditions proffered by Your Excellency. They have likewise promised to abide by any engagement I shall enter into for them, provided the same be kept a profound secret until the British government can protect and assist them, and provided they shall not be obliged to go out of Vermont to make war with the other states. They will receive the king's troops and garrisons and will join them to oppose any troops or forces that will invade Vermont to prevent her reunion with Britain. They have likewise promised never to take arms again in opposition to British government, nor to assist Congress on any pretence whatever."

To answer for "the populace" was a bold saying even for Colonel Allen, since the body of the people

undoubtedly thought themselves very well off in the existing state of affairs. This unaccountable truce with Great Britain had kept their borders free for two years from the raids that had devastated other states, and they were in no haste to be taken into the union and share the burden of the war debt.

Mr. Cossitt, a Loyalist clergyman, who had called upon Ethan Allen, reported that gentleman's professions of fealty to the British government to be somewhat overdone, in view of the fact that the minutest details of his negotiations with His Excellency were now being laid before congress, while Dr. George Smyth wrote that Washington wanted to keep open the cartel door, and had agreed to furnish prisoners for that purpose. But General Haldimand wished to gain time no less than the other party did—time to get instructions from the new British Cabinet as to how long "the interesting pursuit of reclaiming Vermont" was to be kept up.

The state of affairs (reported to Haldimand's agents) in 1783 was that one-third of the ruling men in Vermont were for government on sound principles; one-third for attachment to their own state and hatred of New York; the other third would be governed by the fortune of war. The common people would willingly accept any government except that of New York; the Allens were firm for the Crown, and Chittenden would be led by them. In reality New York was bound that

Vermont should not be a state, and the latter was bound that she should, though she had to fight her way in, opposed by the whole thirteen colonies. Early in 1783, the preparations being made at Albany for a professed attack upon the advanced British posts on Lake Champlain, were said to have the ulterior design of subduing Vermont. She certainly roused the ire of Washington by persisting in trading with Canada, though Haldimand said he could not sanction free traffic till he received his instructions from England. He told Ethan Allen, however, that he would admit no trade that would militate against his interests, and a letter of Joseph Fay, dated September, 1783, returns thanks to His Excellency for the opportunity to dispose of cattle belonging to Colonel Allen and himself. The former stated his resolve to do nothing in future respecting political matters but under the direction of General Haldimand, whom he considered the "Guardian of the People."

Troublesome wards His Excellency found them, and Lord Germaine was no prop: "I am really at a loss what instructions to convey to you at present respecting the conduct you are to observe towards the people of the state of Vermont, as much will depend upon the reception their propositions shall meet with from Congress. The language they have held to you has, to be sure, been somewhat extraordinary. I do not see how it is possible for us, consistently with the Treaty of Peace, openly to

interfere in their disputes, and on the other hand I think it difficult to refuse to take them under our protection should they be determined to become subjects of Great Britain. The matter in a great measure must therefore be left to your judgment and discretion." Haldimand decided to stop the intercourse.

In 1791, the claims of New York against her territory having been settled by purchase, Vermont became a fourteenth state. She may well be proud of her leading men so far as their devotion to herself is concerned, and the average citizen is disinclined to enquire too closely into the moral quality of actions performed by state heroes, provided they accomplished the ends in view.

"All is fair in war," it is said, but looking upon these nine large volumes of manuscript letters merely as character studies, the unbiased reader closes them with a strong impulse towards the reversion of popular verdicts in Vermont and Canada. Cannot a few superfluous laurel leaves of the Allens be claimed for the gentleman of Switzerland who fulfilled the promise he made at the outset of the negotiations, and acted always "with the sincerity of a soldier, unpractised in deceits and chicane"?

CHAPTER XII

AUTRES TEMPS AUTRES MŒURS

"THE Canadians talk continually to their horses when whipping them—'*Allons, mon Prince; Pour mon Général*,' or oftener, '*Fi, donc, Madame.*' I thought they meant me, and I said, '*Plaît-il?*' 'Oh,' replied the driver, 'I only meant that little rogue, my horse."

After this manner has the Baroness de Riedesel recorded in her diary various quaint episodes of her adventurous journey into Canada with her three children—four, two years, and ten weeks old—to join her soldier husband. A brave little lady she was, head and shoulders above any modern heroine of revolutionary romance as her writing is above that of the romancers, because true; but it is with her Canadian experiences alone we have to do.

"Whenever we met peasants they made me their obeisance, crying, 'the wife of our good General' and carried me almost on their shoulders. It gave me great joy to perceive that my husband had made himself so acceptable and to hear them say, 'How pleased he will be!'"

She found the country people very hospitable, living in good houses with three or four spacious rooms and curtained beds in each. The annual

application of whitewash "gives to the Canadian villages an appearance of great neatness and makes them visible from a considerable distance. The space around each house is successively filled up by the settlements, which the young people, on their marriages, make around their parents. They call themselves, on that account, 'habitants' or settlers, and not peasants. Each habitation has its own stables, garden and pasturage scattered along the banks of the St. Lawrence, they contribute much to the romantic aspect of the scene." Each had its little orchard also, and the hogs and cows were driven into the woods for pasture, returning to be milked and fed. The lady thought the swine would surely die if shut up in sties, as in Germany, and she found them a fine breed, partly wild and partly tame. A cheerful folk, the *habitants*, singing and smoking the whole day. "Many of the women have wens or *goitres*, but generally the Canadians are a healthy people and live to a great age. It is not rare to find among them a great-grandfather who dwells with his descendants and is the object of their kindest attention. After a journey of about two months from the time we had left New York, we reached Quebec in the middle of September, 1781."

Another lady writer, the wife of an English officer, gives a less flattering picture of the *habitants*, describes them as being poor farmers, too lazy to do more than turn lightly over the clods of

earth before throwing in the seed, and scorning the use of manure, which they throw into the river. She thinks the numerous festivals of religion incline the people to idleness, and remarks that they never walk, as every man owns a horse. Undoubtedly, they lived up to the advice given by the Indians to their forefathers—"to use dancing, mirth, cheerfulness and content, as the best remedies against the inconveniences of the climate." "Never was there such a race of dancers," says the same author, "I have seen daughter, mother, and granddaughter in the same French country dance."

Her account of a ball in Quebec at which there were three hundred persons present and three quarters of them men, draws a sigh from the modern wall-flower. How the vivacious French Canadian belles coquetted with the British officers, how they sauntered on the summer evenings "on a particular battery which is a kind of little Mall," how upon New Year's Day they sat "dressed in form to be killed," awaiting the arrival of the usual gentlemen callers who drove up looking "like so many bears in their open carioles all wrapped in furs from head to foot," with nothing exposed but the tip of the nose, is entertaining reading and so is the lady's description of the opening of navigation: —"From the time the ice is no longer a bridge on which you see crowds driving with such vivacity on business or pleasure, everyone is looking eagerly for its breaking away to remove the bar to the con-

tinually wished and expected event of the arrival of ships from that world from whence we have seemed in a manner excluded."[1]

The opening of the river was always viewed from Cape Diamond by crowds of both sexes and all ranks, but none would watch for it more anxiously than the governor from his Château of St. Louis. To General Budé he wrote one March 1st, "During our sequestration from the rest of mankind our time is spent in enjoyment and dancing, hoping for good news in the first days of May."

It is recorded that he gave a grand ball and supper at the Château on January 18th, 1784, in honour of the Queen's birthday, and it may by some be attributed to the fact of the evening being a Sunday that there was a terrific snow-storm and gale from the northeast which carried away the cross on the steeple of the parish church or cathedral. Chimneys were blown down and the steeple of the Récollets was thrown into their garden with a dreadful crash. There had been an earthquake on the 2nd inst. and another on the 12th, but no damage was done and gaiety went on.

Admission to the Quebec theatre was one dollar, and the public was requested to have the even sum or tickets ready, as no change would be given. The upper classes dined at two and so were ready for the evening's diversions. The doors of the playhouse opened at five o'clock in summer for a day-

[1] "The History of Emily Montague." (See appendix P.)

light performance, as in Shakespeare's time, but in winter they opened an hour later. Such dramas were presented as *Miss in Her Teens; High Life Below Stairs; Love à la Mode; The Upholsterer; The Fashionable Lovers;* and even *Macbeth.* The plays were often varied with singing or other music.

The succession of festivities in Montreal was almost overpowering. Walter Butler of the Rangers said it was harder work than scouting, and he had to keep himself in form by a snow-shoe tramp around Mount Royal with a comrade every other day.

The defeat of the congress troops in their attempt to take Quebec was celebrated in the ancient capital every 31st of December by "an elegant Entertainment" given to the governor and his suite by the gentlemen of the British militia; and His Excellency always held a brilliant assembly on the King's birthday, June 4th. On one occasion at least this was supplemented by "fireworks outside St. Lewis Gate, to the entire satisfaction of a numerous concourse of spectators."

Besides the balls at the Château, there were subscription dances held regularly at Menut's house on St. John street, and there was another place of entertainment kept by one James Park out on the Ste. Foye road. Mr. John Frank's long-room witnessed a celebration of the Queen's birthday, "by the Gentlemen of the Army and the Merchants of this city. The company was numerous and brilliant

notwithstanding the extreme badness of the night. The dancing began at seven o'clock and continued till one, when the company sat down to a magnificent and sumptuous supper, where after drinking a few general toasts the dancing was resumed and continued till seven o'clock next morning. The whole was conducted with such just propriety and decorum, that it reflects the highest honour on the managers of it."

An elegant entertainment was given Lieutenant-Governor Cramahé on his departure for Europe, and indeed the lively Quebec people never ceased to seek occasion for jollity. As one of them writes: —"It may not be unworthy of remark, that whilst the more intelligent statesmen are busied in predicting the fall of Nations, and the vast similarity between the state of Britain and Carthage, a remote province of the Empire has exhibited an Entertainment, the expense, profusion and elegance of which may vie with the most celebrated repasts of Appicus. On the 18th was given a Conversazationé by the harmonious conjunction of civil and military. The dancing commenced at eight, after the necessary prelude of Tea and Coffee, and was continued with that gaiety and apparent satisfaction, the ever concomitant attendant of the amusements and diversions of this metropolis."

Of course there was plenty of war talk, some of which reads strangely in altered conditions. One man remarks that if the revolted colonists realized that

they were merely being used by the French and Spanish for their own purposes, "they would hide themselves with their native Brethren, Squooks. . . . . If an Earthquake would swallow up America I apprehend the Powers of Europe would keep their balance without a groan."

The year 1781, was a particularly anxious time and the inhabitants both of Quebec and Montreal took occasion to present loyal addresses to the governor, assuring him of their services in case of expected rebellion. The other side was in no less straits, if the Quebec *Gazette* of April 19th is to be believed:—"The following accurate Copies of ORIGINAL LETTERS are part of a Rebel Mail lately intercepted by several of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects. And as they give a lively description of the opposite interests of the Congress and the Leaders of the Rebel Army—Of the embarrassments of the latter in respect to supplies, etc.—Of the depreciated state of their paper currency—Of the depressed condition of the Rebel Marine—And contain the most decisive proof of a concerted scheme to establish a Military, upon the ruins of a Civil government, they are given to the public for their information and amusement."

Two of these letters are from Richard Langdon, son of the President of Harvard College; others from Generals Green, Parsons, Knox, Glover, Paterson, Huntingdon, etc., and one from Col. Hamilton, aide to Washington.

The *Gazette* was forbidden to meddle in politics, but no objection could be taken to sublime instruction imparted in the Poet's Corner:—

AMERICA

AN ELEGY

Where, where alas, are fled the blissful hours,
Which parent fondness all indulgent gave,
When blest OBEDIENCE own'd superior pow'rs,
And British Freedom crossed the Atlantic wave?

Blest times! When Royal Brunswick's hallow'd name,
Rude nations heard with reverential awe;
And souls assenting to Britannia's fame,
The charms of LIBERTY with transport saw.

* * * * * * * *

And hark! from yonder slowly-pacing cloud
Some *vocal shade* informs the raptur'd MUSE
"AMERICA with lineal worth endow'd
"Again shall rise to Albion's lofty views.

"Here Cultivation shall resume her toils,
"Fair fields around each Hybla Village shine
"And Sons of FREEDOM reap the golden spoils
"Which *Fraud* and *Faction* impiously decline."

"Hail, unborn Freedom! unborn Glory, hail!
"And hail! prophetic thoughts of future days.
"When BRITAIN'S PRODIGALS, with duteous zeal,
"Shall crown the PARENT with immortal praise."

Nor could any exception be taken to the publication of "A comparative View of the different circumstances of the People of America in the years 1773 and 1778 in respect to (1) their government which could stand no comparison with that of Great Britain, having the seeds of perpetual

dissension and incessant discord sown in the Constitution; (2) Protection, which no other nation but England was either willing or able to give; (3) Laws, the present code being made without a model and therefore surpassing the most arbitrary edicts in rankest despotism; (4) Religion—Nothing had been gained by disestablishment since the Presbyterians' democratic form of worship, their hatred of Popery and talk of themselves as the Elect were to blame for the revolution. In fact under the new régime there was no security either for person or property, for Agriculture or Manufactures. Commerce was ruined by the war and taxes were being levied by 'mushrooms' from the dunghill."

How the colonies could continue on their mad career after such a presentation of plain truth is surprising! Benedict Arnold's "Address to the People of America" was published in the *Gazette*, and therein were stated the reasons for his somewhat peculiar course of action. He had imagined the war to be one of defence only, until the French joined it, and he was heartily disappointed that the United States did not end the strife after Great Britain had given them all they asked for. He preferred to trust England rather than France who "is too feeble to establish your Independency, so perilous to her distant dominions; the enemy of the Protestant faith, and fraudulently avowing an affection for the liberties of mankind, while she holds her native sons in vassalage and chains."

Of far more interest to the Quebeckers would be the letter to the printer, dated December 6th, 1781, on the burning question of the smallpox:—"I learnt a few days ago that a Surgeon of Eminence in this City had imported from England, some infectious matter for the purpose of introducing the Smallpox by Innoculation, and that he proposed to make an experiment on two children to try the quality of it. That the favourable Success of the Practice of Inoculation hath highly recommended it throughout Europe I will readily allow. But what are the Reasons of its being so useful there? In all Kingdoms of Europe the Smallpox prevails naturally; and few arrive at any age without having been infected with it; and all are liable to receive an unfavourable sort, at a time when their Bodies are not in a proper State for its Reception. . . . . Here the malady prevaileth not naturally and thousands of grown Persons have never had the infection. It is now arrived from 3,000 miles distance; it is taken from we know not what Subject, and is sent by, we know not whom. In this case, therefore, one of the principal Ends of Inoculation is not answered, viz., the Certainty of a favourable Infection. But the Doctor intends trying the Quality of the Infection on two children and to inoculate no others till the Quality be thereby ascertained. I am of opinion he has not explained his Intention to the Parents of those Children, because I think no Parent would permit him to

execute it. . . . . If it turns out a bad sort Infection will spread, but even if good how few can receive the Infection by Inoculation?"

Poor people, he argues, cannot pay a surgeon and this one has not offered his services gratis. Bodies that are not well nourished are not fit for the purpose, as the disease may take a more virulent form in them and the contagion spread. A medical writer of great repute has said that more harm than good is done by inoculation, but for himself he is no enemy to it though he should like to have the choice of saying whether his children shall take the smallpox naturally or be inoculated.

There were many others in a like case, some mothers wishing to have it over and done with, while the fathers objected, or *vice versa*. From Three Rivers came the report (Sept. 9th, 1783) that "there is strong Desire for it in all the English Inhabitants and in many of the Canadian families." Surgeons were coming from distant parts of the country to get matter for inoculation, but none had been given nor would be given without the governor's orders. The great argument against it in Canada was the number who had not had the disease "but by Discouraging that useful Practice and great improvement in Physic the number will be every day increasing and make the Danger of the Disease in the natural way so much the more alarming."

Surgeon Barr believed in the encouragement

of inoculation, so as to have the disease always in the country, as in England, and Haldimand had no objections, provided the people wanted it, but he was decidedly averse to having experiments made at the upper posts, and this letter was sent from headquarters to the commander of one of them, on November 2nd, 1783:—"His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, having learned that Mr. Gill, Mate of the General Hospital, has been so imprudent as to take from Montreal to Carleton Island Small Pox matter for the purpose of Inoculation, I am directed to signify to you His Excellency's positive Command that he may not be permitted to make use of it, but that it may be taken from him, and that you will Yourself, see it buried so deep under Ground as to prevent a possibility of its having any Effect—and if unfortunately, any use should have been made of it before you receive this His Excellency desires you will send the Parties infected to the most remote part of the Island, with a Guard to prevent all Communication with them—for should the disease get amongst the Indians the consequences to them and to the King's Service would be very fatal. In all events the Intention must be carefully concealed from the Indians for if the Infection should by any Accident make its way from Hence to them it would infallibly be attributed to that cause."

The letter did arrive in time, its instructions were carried out and the captain was able to write

to his chief that though there was sickness at his post it was nothing more serious than the measles. After the peace, in 1784, the governor told Sir John Johnson he must be held responsible for the expense if he continued to supply with provisions the Indians who were bringing their children to Montreal for inoculation.

To have had the smallpox was considered a recommendation for a servant, as well as a means of identification for escaping bondsmen. At the census taken in 1784, there were 212 slaves in Montreal, four in Three Rivers, and eighty-eight in Quebec. There frequently appeared in the *Gazette* the cut of a stumpy negro in African dress accompanying the advertisement for runaways, whether men or women, though their costumes varied. The Mulatto Negress Bell for whose return a reward of four dollars was offered, was barefooted and wore a striped woolen jacket and petticoat, while "a Mulatto Fellow call'd Jacob about eighteen years of age, had on when he went away a light brown fustian Coat, white cloth Waistcoat and Breeches and a round hat."

Apprentices were almost as much the master's property as slaves. Four guineas were offered for the return of one, while the recovery of a negro rarely earned more than fifty shillings. For several weeks this advertisement appeared: "RUNAWAY from his Bail an indentured servant Christian Miller, a tailor from Germany, middling long black hair,

has very much the cut and behaviour of a sham beau, formerly servant to a Hessian officer, a variety of cloathing viz. a Maroon Coat, a brown ditto lined with light blue silk, the one Gold, the other Silver buttons, a brown Great Coat and a variety of Waistcoats and Breeches." Five guineas reward for return to his master in Montreal. There is a hero for a novelist.

To be a servant of any kind was no sinecure in those days, if one is to judge by the requirements called for:—Wanted "A single man, middle age, steady, honest, sober, that can comb Hair,—cut wood—dress a beef-steak occasionally—receive messages—in short wanted a Servant that can live always at home and undertake the management of his Master's affairs and give him as little trouble as possible."

Occupations were often combined which in our time call for specialists. Tryphina Cameron's business card tells of her proficiency as a "Clear Starcher, Milliner and Mantua Maker." One Agnes Galbraith from Edinburgh who states that she has served an apprenticeship to millinery and has been also for several years governess in a genteel boarding school, takes in clear starching and opens a boarding and day school for young ladies, where particular attention will be paid to morals and the pupils instructed in white and coloured work, tambour, embroidery Dresden work, besides being taught millinery, drawn work, and the making of gimps and fringes. By

other advertisements it appears that "every useful and ornamental branch of needlework" and "exterior Deportment and Behaviour," were the chief departments in women's education, though the ladies who kept a boarding and day school at the corner of the Grand Parade mention that the little ones will be instructed in "Reading and Spelling." To Mr. John Pullman's advertisement for male pupils in Montreal there is this annex:—"N.B. The young ladies will be taught in a separate Apartment. Funerals compleatly furnished on the most reasonable Terms and on the Shortest Notice." Advocates for co-education might cite this as vital evidence in support of their views.

The Grey Sisters of the Congregation taught demoiselles in the country to read, write, and knit stockings. A boarding school at Clapham Common tried to wile the English girls of Canada across the Atlantic for their education, but many were well content with the schools of the Ursuline nuns at Quebec and Three Rivers. There they learned to speak French, a first requisite for the British minority and in itself a means of culture which old country people were quick to appreciate.

Admiral Sir Charles Douglas wrote to Governor Haldimand in June, 1784, from aboard the *Assistance* just arrived at Halifax, that he had brought out with him half a dozen young gentlemen with a Scottish tutor who were to be boarded in separate

houses where only French was spoken and were to meet only on Sunday for a Church of England service. Sons of earls and admirals, how they fared among the Canadians history sayeth not.

Mr. J. Tanswell, the most enterprising schoolmaster of Quebec, advertised the teaching of French "after such a method that the most Common Capacity, with very moderate application may with ease become master, both in Theory and Practice of that Ornamental and Necessary Language." The same gentleman had classes for young ladies where they were taught "reading with propriety," English and French grammar, writing, arithmetic, geography and history, either at his own house or in his academy in Parlour Street, near the Bishop's Palace. He had a dancing school three nights a week, with monthly assemblies to which a limited number of parents and friends were admitted, and still he craved employment for his "leisure hours," if he was to continue his educational efforts. Apparently *His Majesty's Royal Quebec Academy* was not a paying institution. Mr. Tanswell petitioned the governor in 1784 for leave to draw three years' salary for his services, in order to meet expenses resulting from bad debts, etc. He stated that he had "spent the first twenty years of his life in acquiring a universal education"; that he was assistant in English schools, at the head of one in London for seven years, and in 1772, was prevailed upon by certain gentlemen

of Nova Scotia, "to cross the Atlantic in order to plant the liberal Arts and Sciences in that Country." Five years later he had left Halifax for Quebec at the request of Sir Guy Carleton.

In 1778, John Grout applied for a license to set up a school in Three Rivers; and the same year the Loyalists at Machiche chose for their preceptor a Mr. Cass, and it is to be hoped they were able to treat him more liberally than the next incumbent, John Adams, whose wife petitioned the governor for "a continuance of the allowance or that her husband be relieved from teaching school gratis, so that he might employ himself to obtain support for his family."

None of the schools were self-supporting and government grants were always in demand, though the people of St. Johns raised subscriptions to give forty-eight pounds a year to their teacher, the Rev. George Gilmore. Clergymen were frequently found in the profession, the Rev. John Stuart for example, Virginian by birth, but ordained in England, who came to Montreal from Albany where he had left behind him a "bondsman" for whose relief he prayed that an exchange might be effected. He started a school in connection with a Mr. Christie who proved incompetent and the partnership was dissolved. The governor played the censor on their advertisement:—"I directed the words 'principally intended for the children of Protestants' to be left out, as it is a distinction which could not fail to

create jealousies, at all times improper, but more particularly so at present."

A town plot at Cataraqui (Kingston) was marked out for Mr. Stuart in 1784, as he longed to minister unto his fellow Loyalists there, but Haldimand advised him not to give up his Montreal academy till the other position was secured. In 1786, he opened a school in the new settlement and became rector of the parish in which the garrison was situated. For this reason he thought the government should build him a house, but he was told that he must erect his own dwelling, though Major Ross would lodge him in the fort till it was done. This Reverend John Stuart was the forerunner of the Episcopal Church in Upper Canada.

Besides being guardian of the people at large, His Excellency exercised a fatherly care over his officers, too often led into extravagance, for Quebec was "an expensive quarter." None of them could marry without his sanction and perhaps as a bachelor himself he was not always ready to bestow it. There was Captain Schank of the navy wanting to marry a widow who wrote herself to the general asking permission, but was told that he did not approve of his officers marrying during such active service. The enamoured captain probably persevered in his suit, for a month later he received a letter from headquarters saying that the whole time of an officer was required for the duties of his department, and as his "other engagements" seemed

to interfere with their performance he was requested to send in his accounts that a successor might be appointed. But the general must have been conciliated, for the banns of marriage between Schank and the widow were published at Three Rivers in the autumn and the captain was still on the general's staff the following spring.

A lieutenant who wants to wed sends a recommendation from his colonel; a captain is told that he must get permission both from the bride's father and Sir John Johnson; while even the surgeon has to propose to the governor, after the lady, or perhaps beforehand. In the face of these difficulties thrown in the way of hymeneal rites, it is interesting to observe the laudation of the brides usually appended to the marriage notices:—"The many virtuous, amiable qualities, which this young lady so extensively possesses are strong presumptions in favour of the parties enjoying every happiness the married state affords."

Deaths are similarly commented upon:—"On Friday last, the 2nd inst., was interred the most pious, most respectable and most virtuous Ann-Lucy-Magdalen Becher, spouse of Lieu-Gen. Thomas Clarke, Colonel of the 31st Regt. The Clergy, the Nobility and Citizens zealously attended her Funeral being all of them actuated by a principle of love, respect and gratitude. It would seem as if Providence had delayed her departure, by fixing it for the day after her death, in order that our Province

might be honoured with her precious remains; which after admiring her virtues, esteems itself so happy in being the depository of them, that its tributes of love, respect and veneration can only cease with the lives of its inhabitants. General Clarke's embarkation deprived his very humble servants of the opportunity of waiting on him with their compliments of condolence and of wishing him a happy voyage. It is pleasing to reflect that the tenderness he had for the Lady is an authentic proof of the virtues she practised in a religion different from his own."

The governor was ever strictly impartial in his dealings with his officers, would not allow any to advance by favouritism over the heads of others, and extended his system into the militia. Two captains of the local troops at Kamouraska were told that they were to be placed on a perfect equality, and that the seat of honour at church was to be common to both. He censured an officer for carrying a debtor away from his creditors, as it was customary for either civil or military persons about to leave the province to put a notice to that effect in the local paper:—"Mr. David Cairns now at Quebec, who some days ago resigned his commission in the Royal Highland Emigrants, requests those in the Province who have any demands upon him to make them without delay, that such as are just may be paid; and those in possession of any of his Drafts to present them to the persons on

whom they are given, for payment before his departure." August 4th, 1778.

Travelling had more than a spice of danger as a variety. Madame de Riedesel says she went to Montreal one day by sledge on the river and on the next a ship came sailing up. She is our best informant upon the housekeeping of the time, though much of her account is applicable to-day, such as the manner of freezing fish and fowls to keep them all winter. Most of the Quebec supplies came from the well-tilled Island of Orleans. Meat was plentiful, but fruit and vegetables scarce, so madame cultivated her garden, under the able direction of General Haldimand. She was highly entertained by the Canadians fishing for tommy-cod through holes in the ice, and by their expeditions into the spring woods with pots and kettles to "make what they call maple sugar."

"The soups they eat are very nourishing, and generally consist of fresh meat, vegetables and pork all boiled together, but they have no second dish." Sometimes they made soup out of the wild pigeons that came in great flocks and were prepared for the table in fricassées, "dressed with a cream sauce and small onions."

Black, red and gray foxes were abundant, their skins bringing good prices on the Quebec market, but few deer were seen except in winter when they crossed on the ice. General Riedesel remarks on the ptarmigan, which he calls a white partridge, the

snipe, wild ducks and geese, and a black and yellow bird, the size of a canary, so sweet a singer that the *habitants* call it *rossignol du pays.*

The Canadians then, as now, were fond of music, hence the advertisement of the arrival of "5 Elegant piano fortes" on the last ship. The importer agrees to take pupils for the instrument as for the "Guittar, Violin, Flute," and to teach also "Singing, French and English at 24 lessons for one guinea and one guinea entrance." Everything comes from London, from "fine old red port" to a "neat and fashionable assortment of gauze ribbons, white, black and blond lace, Marseilles quilting; muslin and muslin patches; Serge-de-nim and callimanco ladies' shoes; men's black, green and white hats; gentlemen and ladies' beaver gloves, lined with flannel; Spanish whitening; fine Florence oil; thyme and penny royal; camomile flowers; universal, political, town and country magazines; Mogul, Henry and Merry Andrew cards; scented and plain hair powder; cephalic snuff, etc."

The baroness has somewhat to say on the dress of the period:—"The Canadians of the lower classes wear large cloaks of scarlet cloth; the wealthy ladies have cloaks of the same size but of silk, and they never go abroad without that article of dress. The latter wear, besides, a covering for the head, with large knots of different colours, which may be considered as a sign of nobility, and upon which the ladies of rank pride themselves so much,

that they could find it in their hearts to tear it from the head of the plebeian woman bold enough to wear it. The large cloaks cover sometimes very ordinary and mean dresses. The female garb consists besides of gowns and jackets, with long sleeves and (for the street) large hoods, which not only cover the head, but almost the whole face, and which in winter are stuffed with down." Men at the same season wear "entire coats of beaver and casques on their heads like knights." Gentlemen were by no means confined to the sober garb of to-day, as we see by a glance at the *Gazette* advertising column of articles for sale September 10th, 1781:—"Rich black and new fashionable colour'd silk for vests, Genoa and Moloshskin Velvet for Breeches, variety of figur'd silk velvet for winter vests; an elegant assortment of the most fashionable buttons. Broad cloths with suitable trimmings; second, middling, hunters and forest cloths; superfine and other Rateens; Beaver and Bath coatings; fine white buff and new fashion colour'd Casemirs; fine India Dimities Sattinets, Jenets, pillow Fustians, Thicksets, Corderoys; best silk and super fine worsted Breeches pieces; silk, cotton, thread and worsted hose; neat Shoes and Pumps; best Beaver middling and low-priced hats; gloves of all sorts; gold and silver lace, ditto epaulets; hat-bands and frogs for Gentleman's cloaths; great variety of gold, silver, pearl, steel, gilt, plated and other buttons."

How novel it would be to drop into an auction sale of household furniture, including:—"Mahogany dining, tea and night tables, a large mahogany four-post Bedstead with green Harceleen furniture, Windsor and other chairs, looking glasses, a set of elegant Prints framed and glassed, a large double Carron Stove, Carpets, a large Mahogany Bureau, window Curtains, feather Beds and Bedding, a good Jack, etc."

A milliner advertises, "Elegant caps, Laces, hats, cloaks, silk shoes and slippers; stays of all kinds in the most fashionable tastes; beautiful Lutestrings; Sattins, Sarsnets and Persians, silk and leather gloves, perfumery, etc.;" while a goldsmith and engraver in the Parade Quebec "has received from London a general and genteel assortment of Goods such as: Double gilt Hangers, silver-mounted ditto, Steel ditto, polished steel hooks for ditto, Morocco belts with Swivels, elegant Paste Shoe and Knee buckles; Lockets, Pearl, Garnet, Paste, etc., with shirt buckles of the same quality; Mason's Medals and Broaches; Rings, Snuff boxes, double gilt Canes, best plated Candle sticks, Porter Cans with covers, Quart and Pint, ditto without; Inkstands, castors, best Rowel Spurs, bottle Tickets, Japann'd Bread basket, Tea trays, etc."

Our ancestors were nothing if not "genteel." A house to be sold is "well-calculated for a private Genteel family." "Genteel and elegant assortment of Dry goods too tedious to mention, to be sold for

ready money or short credit." A young man wants to earn his living by attending in a shop, "or in some other tolerable genteel way." A friend of General Haldimand hopes the latter will give good advice to a young man he is sending to Quebec, whose faults are all of a genteel kind, "lude women, strong liquors, and indeed all the fashionable vices in general."

"On Sunday morning last about nine o'clock His Majesty's 44th Regt. of foot (now in Garrison here) was review'd on the heights of Abraham by His Excellency General Haldimand, on which occasion the genteel appearance of officers and men gained them great applause."

Colonel de Tonnancour, commander at Three Rivers, often sent the general a fine bass, tongues, *mouffles*, or other choice portions of moose or elk, but one springtime he wrote upon a very different matter. An impertinent surgeon's mate had dared to engage the affections of his daughter Manette. Would it please His Excellency to remove the obnoxious medico to a distant post? Haldimand knew the name, Thomas Prendergast, as belonging to one who had been arrested for insubordination a couple of years before, but there was much sickness at Three Rivers just then, and he could not be spared. The governor agreed to send Prendergast away as soon as convenient, but the autumn found him still at Three Rivers and M. de Tonnancour wrote twice to His Excellency urging the fulfilment

of his promise. In the spring came a letter from Manette herself, giving her side of the story, telling the governor of her affection for Dr. Prendergast despite the opposition of her relatives. The summer passed and again mademoiselle on behalf of her lover implored the assistance and protection of His Excellency, whose reply has not been preserved.

A romance with an ending is that of Horatio Nelson, captain of the *Albemarle*, whose presence in Quebec in 1782 is certified by a letter from him to Haldimand asking for a pilot. He needed one by land as by sea, according to the story that is told of him. To give his men a chance to recover from the scurvy, Nelson had remained a month in port, and he wrote to his father:—"Health, that greatest of blessings, is what I have never truly enjoyed until I saw *Fair* Canada. The change it has wrought, I am convinced, has been truly wonderful." Quebec had other charms than that of climate for the young captain, who had fallen desperately in love with one of its belles. The *Albemarle* was ordered to New York, and on the eve of setting sail, Nelson had bidden farewell to his lady love, but at the last moment he came ashore again, vowing that sooner than part with Mary Simpson he would let the ship sail without him. Tradition has it that he was on his way to her house when he was met by a friend who had him carried by force on board his vessel. Nelson lived to fight another day—so did the young lady. She afterwards mar-

ried Major Mathews, the governor's secretary, who rose to the rank of colonel, and at his death was governor of Chelsea Hospital.

Paul Jones is another distinguished seaman who stalks through the general's correspondence, where tragedy and comedy walk side by side, as in the old *Gazettes:* —"Saturday night about twelve o'clock the window of a shop in the lower town was broke open and a few of the most handy things carried off. . . . How amazing it is that notwithstanding the very recent melancholy example of the most condign capital punishment inflicted for crimes of this nature, that yet they should still persist in the practice of them." Better to repent now than "to express great sorrow and contrition at the whipping post or under the gallows." A long exhortation follows to the thieves "dancing on the edge of a precipice," with a concluding injunction to householders to fasten their doors and windows.

Haldimand considered the Canadian horses remarkable only for draught, a good one for the saddle being rare, as they were mostly too thick in the shoulders and apt to trip. Curiosity is excited concerning the quality of the mares that Mrs. Butler, wife of the famous ranger, used to drive in her chaise. We do not feel so far removed from the eighteenth century when we see a reward offered for the recovery of a "New Yellow Oil-cloth Umbrello, lent and not returned; name inside near the middle," nor as we read, "Reward offered of £100

for detection of any one committing the Infamous, Scandalous, Injurious and Shameful practice of Clipping, Mutilating and Debasing the currency." A recipe for making potato bread and another for "Softening the hardest female heart" appeal to men and women of the present, who are no less fond of experimenting with patent medicines than were their ancestors. A certain "Attenuating Tincture" proved a sovereign remedy for rheumatism, sciatica and kindred ills in the case of one eighteenth century dame who used only half a bottle. The domestic servant problem loomed as large upon that horizon as upon our own:—"Mr. R. Gray, at New Gardens, near Quebec, having two likely, healthy, negro women, both brought up to house work, the one aged about thirty and the other about eighteen years, is desirous of disposing of one of them as they disagree together. They have both had the smallpox, and can be well recommended."

Books were of more value then, as a reward of two dollars each is offered for the return of the first volume of Langhorn's "Plutarch" and a couple of others missing. The *Gazette* has every week a prose essay of high moral tone upon such subjects as "The Influence of Taste upon Manners," "On Gaming," "Politeness," "Thoughts on Prejudice, Flattery and Virtue," "Definition of Beauty and Means of Preserving it." The last was the production of a local writer, but most of the matter was borrowed. Poems on "Winter," "Wealth," "Ode

to a Red Breast," "On Time," "Modern Heroes, by an Enemy to Duelling," "An Old Bachelor's Reflections on Matrimony," "The Dance of the Heavens or Music of the Spheres," acrostics and so on could always find space for themselves, but the encouragement to local talent was scanty in view of lines like these "To the Quebec Poet, On his late inimitable Performance":—

Desist! Vain pedant, crack no more your head;
Thou wast not born to write poetic lays,
To poize the scales and retail skeins of thread
Is yours, but not to wear a crown of bays.
Your verse I view'd with an impartial eye,
Explor'd the meaning with a critic's care,
But sorry am my judgment can't descry
One line of sense, one verse of measure there.
Let me advise (if in the *Mufti* line)
Resume your ells and measure out your stuffs;
If you're a *pedagogue* I pray *decline*,
Nor hurt our senses with such peurile puffs.

Montreal, *February 10th, 1783.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE LOYALISTS

ON August 12th, 1775, General Gage, penned up with his troops in Boston, received an unappreciated honour in the shape of a letter signed "George Washington." Complaint was made therein of the treatment given to members of the continental forces whom the fortunes of war had placed in British hands, no attention being paid to the fact that the sick and officers were thrown into the common gaol as felons. Gage denied the charge, said that his prisoners were treated with care and kindness, but begged leave to call General Washington's attention to the abuse of His Majesty's loyal subjects who had either to die of hunger or take up arms against their king. If this was done in retaliation for his behaviour to prisoners, it was "barbarity founded on falsehood."

The American commander-in-chief afterwards went further and ordered that those who refused to bear arms in the revolutionary cause should be put to death. The Canadian governor said of forty men who had taken refuge in his province, yet did not wish to serve it, that he could not "think of putting them into confinement leaving them no other alternative than to serve contrary to their inclinations.

Some means must be found to employ them, as it would be certainly improper and perhaps unsafe to let them go about the country, though their imprisonment would discover a harshness very discouraging to men who profess loyalty."

Washington and Haldimand had many characteristics in common: the same patience under difficulties, the same lofty ideal of duty; but the attitude of the former towards Loyalists to whom he could recommend only suicide, is in striking contrast to the latter's kind treatment of rebel prisoners. He was specially thanked by General Schuyler for his care of the men, women and children brought to his door by frontier raiders, and we have his own letter of instructions to the officer in command at Montreal to let a number of those unfortunates proceed to their friends as soon as the weather moderated sufficiently for them to travel.

Parties from the revolted colonies who wished to remain under British rule were told to report themselves at Sackett's Harbour, Oswego and Niagara, where large numbers were fed and sheltered. The armed boats upon Lake Champlain were kept busy transporting refugees to Isle aux Noix, and no smoke, flag or other signal of their presence along the shores was disregarded, though naval officers and men ran great risks of being decoyed into landing under false pretences and being cut off from return.

The crimes against inoffensive people committed

in the name of patriotism were enough to make an honest lover of his country choose another word for its expression. The Loyalists were no less patriotic than their neighbours. Like the more sane and better balanced party that controlled events at the beginning of the French revolution, they believed the rights of the people could be gained by constitutional measures without recourse to mob law, leading on to individual persecution, anarchy and the guillotine. The Conservative party in any state has not usually been considered by broad-minded historians to be lacking in patriotism; on the contrary, the very dislike to change which leads its members to bear the ills they have rather than fly to others that they know not of, has, time and again, proved a saving brake upon the wheels of the more progressive party.

Past record should count for something, and had Britain shown herself, through every change of ministry, determined to tyrannize over the colonies, there would not have been found therein so many intelligent people ready to trust to her ultimate righting of wrongs which pressed as heavily on them as upon any other class of the community.

During the Seven Years' War, French and English officers were very fond of exchanging civilities when opportunity offered, and neither nation grudged the other the credit due for the bravery of its troops; but in a civil war, angry passions fill the whole heart, leaving no room for the common instincts of

humanity. As soon as the war between the Northern and Southern States was ended, there was a necessity for healing the breach, if the two were to live together in union, and every means was taken to gain that end; but in the revolutionary struggle, no less a civil war, permanent division between parties was the outcome and there was no necessity for acknowledgment of the possible virtues of the losing side. It is only in our own day that American historians are beginning to take wider views of the subject and to disavow the teaching of their ancestors regarding the Tories who were "to be avoided as persons contaminated with the most dreadful contagion and remain as their just demerits, vagabonds on the face of the earth."

Laws were passed by congress, as well as by separate states, for the furtherance of this laudable end, and individual enmity found ample scope in the popular practices of tarring and feathering, ducking, rail-riding, and other pleasing sports at the expense of their betters.

British officers who wished to sail for England after the peace went by New York at the risk of insults from the populace. The commander-in-chief in Canada highly resented this conduct and to one of his subordinates who wished to sojourn for a time across the border he wrote:—"Situated as we still are with the Americans, it is with great reluctance I permit any officers to pass through their country, but I cannot allow that any of them

should go into the States for the purpose of remaining there upon a visit."

The Jacobites of Scotland, whose sufferings were in behalf of a far worse monarch than George the Third, have received more than their due at the hands of poet and novelist. A fresh field, no less harrowing incidents, and a like amount of devotion to a hopeless cause can be found in the Loyalist records of any state in the original thirteen. Men who escaped the hangman and skulked in the woods to see their wives and children banished from the homes they had laboured long to make for them; to know that their stock was driven off and their household goods put up at auction, their lands sold to strangers—not family estates as a rule but ground of which they had cleared every square yard by the sweat of their brows—men like these, non-combatants at the outset, came to Canada by hundreds and asked to be enlisted against the tyranny that had robbed them of their all. Some disguised as Indians went on scouting expeditions to familiar neighbourhoods, though certain to be hanged if caught.

Sir Guy Carleton began the formation of a Loyalist corps and General Haldimand continued the enlistment, till in 1779, there were reported to be more men in these companies than in Washington's whole army. During the war no less than twenty-five thousand Tories took up arms for the maintenance of the British connection.

A recital of the persecution endured by helpless women, children and old people, before their final expulsion to take up the long and toilsome trail to Canada, was enough to melt a heart of stone and General Haldimand's was not of that material. The abstracts of the archive reports bear witness to the number of petitions that poured in throughout his rule. For example:—"John Macdonnel, loyalist, 74 years of age, and his wife 67. Stating that he has nine sons, seven in the army, and two on the King's works. The persecutions he has suffered; being reduced to poverty from the losses he has sustained, prays for relief." (1781)

"Mary Rogers, widow of a loyalist. Praying for subsistence, her husband having been hanged for his loyalty, by the rebels in 1777, she herself stripped of everything and obliged to fly for shelter to her relations. That not satisfied the rebels ordered her to leave the country." (1782)

One of the governor's first labours was to succour those he found in the province on his arrival and to prepare for the reception of the multitude expected. Some were sheltered at Rivière du Loup, near Three Rivers, till a more permanent settlement could be formed at Machiche in the same neighbourhood under the direction of Conrad Gugy, a Swiss who had been Haldimand's secretary while he was governor at Three Rivers. Bedding, fuel, utensils and provisions were sent there from Quebec, and by December Gugy wrote that there was

still room for forty in the houses he had put up on his seigniory at Machiche.

Having full confidence in Haldimand's judgment, as well as his knowledge of the country, the British ministry left to him the distribution of the Loyalists, with the suggestion that the important district of Sorel be settled as soon as possible with old soldiers, in order to form a barrier at that entrance of the province. To ensure the district being thickly populated, the lots were made small, only sixty acres, but each settler was to have a town lot in addition, as soon as a site was fixed upon, and the remainder of his allowance would be granted him either on the Chaleur Bay or at Cataraqui, now Kingston.

The governor enforced the strictest impartiality in the bestowal of lands, and would not grant to officers the choice of front lots at Sorel, as they requested, but said they must take their chances in drawing, on an equality with the men. The allowance for all was sufficiently liberal—5,000 acres to a field officer, 3,000 apiece to the captains, 2,000 to subalterns, 200 to each non-commissioned officer or private, with an extra grant of fifty acres more for his wife and each child. Arrived at the age of twenty-one every son or daughter of a Loyalist was given 200 acres in addition. Military settlers were numerous, through the disbanding at the peace of such regiments as the Royal Highland Emigrants (84th) the King's Royal Regiment of New York

and Butler's Rangers. The last named took up land along the Niagara frontier, where, in 1784, there were over seven hundred acres cleared by less than fifty settlers.

At Sorel had been made the earliest efforts for the propagation of the Protestant religion in Canada, but the cause did not advance under the ministrations of "the irreverend Mr. Scott," as a contemporary calls him. This gentleman acted as chaplain to the 34th Regiment, but proved a constant source of annoyance to its colonel, Barry St. Leger, of whom he made so many unjust complaints to the commander-in-chief that he was told that no more such scurrilous epistles would be received, and he was forbidden to exercise the functions of a clergyman in the province. His successor (1782), the Rev. John Doty, was to have lodgings in the barracks, and he asked also for the use of a government building in which to hold services, as the French church had hitherto been used for Protestant worship.

As usual the native tribes were not consulted in the peace negotiations between two white races, and the commander at Niagara reported how the tidings of them were received:—"The Indians, from the surmises they have heard of the boundaries, look upon our conduct to them as treacherous and cruel; they told me they would never believe that our King could pretend to cede to America what was not his own to give, or that the Americans

would accept from him what he had no right to grant. They added that many years ago their ancestors had granted permission to the French King to build trading-houses or small forts on the water communication between Canada and the Western Indians, in the heart of their country, for the convenience of trade only, without granting one inch of land but what the forts stood upon, and that at the end of the last war they granted leave to Sir William Johnson to hold these forts for their ally, the King of England, but it was impossible from that circumstance only to imagine that the King of England should pretend to grant to the Americans the whole country of the Indians lying between the Lakes and the fixed boundaries as settled in 1768, between the colonies and the Indians, or that any part of it could be claimed by the Americans or granted by the English to them. . . . They would not be the aggressors, but they would defend their own just rights, or perish in the attempt to the last man; they were but a handful of small people, but they would die like men, which they thought preferable to misery and distress if deprived of their hunting grounds."

General Schuyler, it seemed, had been threatening the Six Nations, and it took all Haldimand's diplomancy to keep them from reprisals. He told the Indians it was as much to the interest of the Americans as to their own to live at peace, whatever they might say. The Six Nations thought

he should take up their quarrel with the United States, but this, of course, he could not do, though he promised lands under his own rule to all who chose to emigrate. So from the banks of the Ohio and the Wabash, from the shores of the lakes in New York State, called by the tribal names, came other mournful bands of exiles to begin the population of what is now the province of Ontario. They settled first at Cataraqui, but it was considered wiser to send them further west where there were no white men, and where they could make alliances with other native tribes and possess their hunting grounds in peace. By the advice of Joseph Brant a district twenty miles from the head of Lake Ontario was fixed upon and the deed of gift was issued:—"The said Mohawk nation and such of the Six Nations as wish to settle in that quarter, to take possession of and settle upon the banks of the river commonly called the Ouse or Grand River, running into Lake Erie, allotting to them for that purpose six miles deep from each side of the river, beginning at Lake Erie and extending in that proportion to the head of said river." (Oct. 25th, 1784.)

In all his dealings with the Indians, Haldimand was a worthy representative of the government that has never permitted its subjects to impose upon them. Land was wanted for the Loyalists upon which the St. Regis Indians thought they had a claim. While the governor did not agree with them, he ordered it to be recognized, and £1,500 was

paid to the Mohawks to satisfy their demands, though it was characteristic of His Excellency to bind them down not to tell what they had received lest other Indians should put in similar claims. He believed in keeping his left hand in ignorance of what his right hand was doing—from economical motives. The commander at Michillimakinak talked of appropriating a certain large district for the Loyalists, but was told that his chief did not approve "of making encroachments upon the interests of the Indians in their lands, so much the practice of the Americans, and so alarming to the Indians."

Knowing what Pontiac had done after the last war, he was most unwilling to unsettle the savages by giving up the frontier posts until there seemed some likelihood of amity between the Indians and their new masters. When the Baron Steuben came as ambassador from congress to demand the surrender of the western forts, he met the general at Sorel, where he was sojourning at the government cottage he had built as a summer retreat. Haldimand had written to Lord North from Quebec, August 6th, 1783:—"I will leave this place to-day as I think it best that Major-General de Steuben should not come further than Sorel—and should have as little opportunity as possible of making observations in this country where there are so many people from a variety of reasons dissatisfied with the Provisional Treaty."

The baron went away duly impressed with the general's courtesy but also with his determination not to yield the posts without special instructions from his government, which so far had ordered merely a cessation of hostilities. Haldimand advised the ministry to grant nothing further until congress upon its side showed some disposition to have the articles of the treaty relating to the Loyalists fulfilled. Not yet had there been any slackening in their persecution, nor were there evidences of a disposition to restore their confiscated estates.

Haldimand wrote Major de Peyster that Niagara, Detroit and Michillimakinak were to be defended at all costs, and if necessary reinforcements should be sent to Oswego, since holding the posts meant holding the Indians.[1] "Whatever the result, it is our duty to persist in our endeavours to conciliate their minds and prevent a return of the calamities of war, in which I hope the Americans will be equally studious, when the violence of party has a little subsided."

The general had another argument for refusing to yield possession of the upper posts—they were absolutely necessary to the protection and maintenance of the fur trade. Of Canada as a commercial country he had no great opinion and counselled Great Britain against too large an outlay in her defence. The northern situation and the unprogressive French population would work against her value as

[1] See appendix Q.

an English colony, and the influx of Loyalists who would not blend with the Canadians might only lead to future complications with the United States. There was only one paying business in Canada, and that was the fur trade. To protect this was the governor's object, not to make money out of it himself, as so many of the French rulers had done.

With the Hudson's Bay Company he had nothing to do, its headquarters being in England and the scene of its labours being reached by the vast inland sea from which it took its name, but during the winter of 1783-4 a rival company was started by Montreal merchants, and to them Haldimand felt bound to give every assistance in his power. The North West Company they called themselves, and they became the merchant princes of the time, carrying on a trade of mighty consequence both to Canada and the mother country. Suspecting that the boundary line between Canada and the States would run directly through their canoe route by the Rainy lake and river to Lake Winnipeg, Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher on behalf of the company proposed attempting the discovery of a new passage entirely in Canadian territory; and they petitioned the governor for an exclusive right to the use of such, if discovered, for at least ten years, during which time passes to the Grand Portage at Lake Superior should be refused. Haldimand was unable to grant their request, but he did better in advising "that at present

it would be most prudent not to express any doubt respecting the boundary line, or to propose a survey of it, for whenever that happens it must be a mutual business and will give the Americans an opportunity of acquiring an equal knowledge with us of the advantage of the fur trade, of which they are at present but ill-informed."

He quietly gave instructions to the commander at Michillimakinak to have surveys made and a new post within the Canadian lines selected in case he should be obliged to move from the present one. Point aux Pins was one of the places suggested and Thessalon another, whereat the 84th would have been pleased to take up land. Eventually the gov ernor's diplomacy prevailed and the upper posts were not surrendered till 1796.[1]

The North West Company was allowed to build a small vessel at Detroit for use upon Lake Superior, but other private craft upon the lakes were for-

[1] Private diary of General Haldimand, London, May 31st, 1790,—"Was at Mr. Grenville's office at noon. He asked if I believed that by giving over the posts in Canada the Indians would lose much, and if by fortifying posts opposite them that trade might be secured. He wished in giving up the posts that a communication with the Mississippi might be obtained from the Americans. I told him that with respect to the trade a part would certainly be lost, but that this loss would perhaps be made up by the goods that our merchants would sell to the Americans, and further, I believed that if the Americans insisted on having the posts a merit should be made of giving them up; that if determined to have them, they were so numerous they could take them when they thought proper; that I did not believe Great Britain would undertake a war to defend them. I showed him what posts it would be proper to take to form a communication, etc. He asked me to put in writing my ideas on the subject."

bidden, in order to prevent the smuggling of furs into the States. All merchandise must be transported in the king's vessels.[1]

The Nor'Westers were active in the establishment of a route between Lakes Ontario and Huron by way of Lake Simcoe and the Toronto Portage. Extensive surveys were made for the benefit of Loyalists, in the same region as well as between the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, and in Nova Scotia, which at that time included New Brunswick. Thither came thousands of refugees—from the sea coasts of the States, exiles as worthy of pity as any Acadians, but as yet unidealized by a poet of world-wide reputation. A road through the forest to St. John was begun in 1783, and upon the shores of the Chaleur Bay barracks and huts were pushed forward at a rate only possible for men "working for themselves in view of a pinching winter."

A letter from Halifax, January 16th, 1784, describes the situation:—"The increasing population, building and improvements in Nova Scotia are really amazing. Large towns arise in 7 or 8 months that exceed Halifax in inhabitants. Shelburne on the harbour of Port Roseway has 9,000 people and more under roof, many in good houses. On St. John River, Carleton and the town opposite are still more populous. In the Bay of Fundy numerous towns are begun. Annapolis is rebuilt and augmented. The old settlements from Cape Sable

[1] See appendix R.

to Halifax are revived with new inhabitants, and from this place to the Eastern limits of the province all the harbours wear an aspect of business and inhabitancy."

Roman Catholic settlers were not required to take the oath of supremacy, merely the oath of allegiance, but their number was small in comparison with the vast body of Protestants upon whose arrival the priests of Canada looked with alarm, fearing that the influence of their religion would be diminished. The *habitants* foresaw that the newcomers would not be long in calling for the repeal of the Quebec Act.

Lord North was of the opinion that the district we now know as the Eastern Townships, lying between the St. Lawrence and the States, would be a suitable country for military settlers,[1] but Haldimand thought differently, judging it imprudent to bring recent combatants to close quarters. He deemed it wiser to leave the region uncultivated for a time, and then to settle it with French Canadians who would serve as a buffer against the restless New England States. The upper country bordering upon Lake Ontario and the Ottawa was what he favoured for early settlements, predicting that it would in time "become a granary for the lower parts of Canada, where crops are precarious and liable to be engrossed by a few designing and interested traders."

[1] See appendix S.

Forty miles of land were purchased from the Mississaugas on Lake Ontario, and Cataraqui was the chief settlement. A "medley of people" gathered there, Royal Highland Emigrants, Rangers, Hessians, besides settlers from every one of the thirteen States. A few of the Six Nations Indians could not be persuaded to follow the majority to the Grand River, as their chiefs chose to retain their importance by governing a smaller body upon the Bay of Quinté. The Reverend Mr. Stuart was asked to use his influence towards their removal, with the representation that union was strength, and he visited periodically the main Mohawk settlement to report upon the education of the Indian youth, for whom a schoolmaster was engaged at £25 a year.

A church, grist and sawmills were put up at Cataraqui erelong, and the Loyalists, turned farmers perforce, were assisted by seed wheat which the government purchased for them in Vermont and also in the valley of the Mohawk. No other trade with the United States was allowed. Grindstones, axes, ploughs, hoes and other implements were brought from England for the settlers, who were fed and clothed at the expense of government for three years, or until able to support themselves, but some of them grumbled that they were not given stock also. How to meet the enormous expense incurred was a question that taxed to the utmost the energies of the governor-general. He wrote to Lord North for definite instructions as to

the extent of the assistance to be given, but while awaiting an answer he could not let the people starve, and so took upon himself the responsibility of supplying their more pressing wants. Even when half rations were ordered, he continued the full measure at his own risk and was a little disappointed that the recipients were indifferent to his sacrifices on their behalf.

His liberality made still more urgent the necessity for economy in other directions, and he ordered a prompt decrease in the Indian presents which had been largely increased in quantity and quality during the war. Of the latter there is evidence in the fact of a silversmith in Quebec requesting that he should be allowed to supply the silver plate wanted for the Indians. Gifts might still be given to widows, orphans, men disabled in the service, or for any cause specially deserving, but a stop must be put to indiscriminate bestowal upon the greedy hordes who flocked to Montreal, merely for "frivolous purposes." The chiefs were of course alarmed at the diminution of presents which indicated a loss of their own importance, but Haldimand was another Frontenac in the firmness as well as the fairness of his dealings with them, and they knew it was of no use to protest.

Several of the characters whose acquaintance we made through the Vermont affair reappear as Loyalists. Mr. Enos wants to settle two Canadian townships with well-to-do people who will need

naught but the land, while the Rev. Mr. Cossitt writes on behalf of his parishioners who have not bowed the knee to Baal, and crave room in His Majesty's dominions only for the protection of his laws against the gathering storm of persecution likely to burst upon their heads. Captain Sherwood is one of the many who hope that Haldimand will not leave Canada till affairs are in a more settled condition, since in him the Loyalists will lose their sole benefactor. He is of those who would fain settle near Missisquoi Bay, but the general refuses to break the rule for him, believing it to be "impossible that Dispositions so opposite from principle, aggravated by violent persecution and loss of property can be suddenly reconciled." The captain went off upon government surveys, but there were others less obedient who persisted in taking up their abode upon the boundaries, being urged thereto by circulars from interested parties, and when one lot after another had been banished, the governor decreed that the next settlers in the prohibited border-land should have their houses burned.

Much has been written of the sufferings of the Loyalists, but who will say a word of the trouble they gave this benevolent governor-general, in bad health himself, wishing for his recall to England, but sticking to his post and never letting his personal ailments interfere with his attention to duty? He tried, as far as possible, to find out the

previous condition of this multitude of refugees thrust upon him in so short a space, and adapted his relief accordingly. A list was made of the young women, as well as the young men, accustomed to earn their living by manual labour, and the former were given washing to do for the volunteers "at four coppers a shirt and other things in proportion." Coloured people who came from the colonies had to be specially protected, as they ran the risk of being sold for slaves in Montreal, and so confused and crowded was the manner of arrival of most of the Loyalists that it was found necessary to prevent imposition by deferring the distribution of clothing until a general muster could be arranged.

"Everyone pretends to supreme command," wrote one of the distracted commissioners, who had his hands full in dealing with all sorts and conditions of men. Haldimand said himself on this subject: "The true spirit of a refugee loyalist, driven from his country by persecution is *to carry arms*, but there is no end to it if every man that comes in is to be considered and paid as an officer."

"Some are loyal from principle; many from interest, many from resentment," was General Howe's estimate of the Tories, and these distinctions remained among them after their emigration. Besides emigrants eminently desirable, there was a proportion of undesirable ones—land-jobbers who sold their lots and went back into the States with the money; idle fellows, who had done no good there

and hoped to live at the expense of the British government; sick people who brought smallpox and measles with them and made an outcry at the closing of the Sorel hospital after they were cured. The doctors had pronounced against the herding together of smallpox patients who could enjoy the luxury of inoculation at their own homes, and the continued complaints from the new subjects were said to arise "chiefly from a want of Brotherly love among themselves."

Haldimand found that the best way to settle disputes in his troublesome family was to stop the supply of provisions, or to issue rations of salt beef to the ringleaders. Some who did not find Canada all they expected, hearing that the enmity against the Tories was relaxing, wanted to return to the States, and the governor told his officers to wink at their departure, since the country was better without them if they did not wish to stay. Others had a rage for recruiting over the border which had to be discouraged, and some went off land-hunting on their own account, leaving wives and children to be fed in their absence. It grew necessary to insist upon families travelling in company to enforce an early settlement, even though husbands and fathers should make complaint that they had not seen the lands they were to occupy. Among the multitudinous prayers for assistance Haldimand received, it is unusual to find one like that of Hugh Monro, who asks for employment, as

he is ashamed to receive help and do nothing in return.

Thus struggling against land monopolists ; against settlers within the American lines who contrived to draw rations in Canada ; against grumblers who persisted in demanding tools that could not be given to all ; against ill-disposed persons who filled the minds of the more credulous with the idea that they were to be enslaved in Canada, and that injustice presided over the distribution of lands and provisions, the governor proceeded with his benevolent duty of finding homes for the outcasts. To control the labour and expense involved in making surveys and transporting settlers into an unbroken wilderness required executive ability of no mean order. The circumstances of the Loyalists were hard enough, but how much worse they would have been had there been a less able and resolute governor to relieve them. His generosity in caring for them on their arrival, the good judgment he displayed in fixing upon their location, bore fruit not in his time but long afterwards.

If Haldimand had acted differently in the crisis, Upper Canada would not have been made a strong British province, able to defy not only absorption into French Canada, but the invasion of her southern neighbours in 1812. With a weaker man at the helm, one who would have yielded to the exactions of some of the Loyalists, there would have been confusion worse confounded. He controlled them

and he controlled his own agents so that everything was done decently and in order, without serious friction either between the newcomers and the French Canadians or between Loyalists and the dwellers in the land they had left. In so far as the first settlers partook of his thrift and his tireless patience in overcoming difficulties, are they worthy to be classed with Haldimand, the founder of Ontario.

CHAPTER XIV

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ENEMIES

THE man who is a strong partisan will be defended by those of his own way of thinking unto the third and fourth generations, but he who tries to do justice to both sides is almost certain to be abused by both and by their children's children. This has been Haldimand's fate and it rests with the disinterested student of history to search for the cause of his unpopularity. Undoubtedly he never sought public favour; to the king and his ministers he owed an account of his stewardship and them alone he sought to please. What the masses, the ignorant people he was sent to govern, thought of his measures in their behalf was of but little consequence to General Frederick Haldimand. He knew better than they did themselves what was good for them, and by his interpretation of the Quebec Act he was enabled to play the part of an amiable despot.

His hardest task was not the repulsion of actual rebel attacks upon the frontiers, but the discovery and suppression of the subtle means employed to undermine the allegiance of the French Canadians. A few natives of old France were the arch-plotters, and the lengthy imprisonment of several of these

was the chief cause of the outcry against Haldimand's administration upon which the changes have been rung even unto our own day.

> "The evil that men do lives after them,
> The good is oft interred with their bones."

One of the governor's fiercest foes was a Captain Cuthbert who objected to the cutting of wood for the Sorel garrison upon his property, though well paid for it, and likewise to the building of a bridge over the river Berthier since it put his profitable ferry out of service. The modern French Canadian idea of Haldimand is that of a stern-faced gaoler turning the key upon hundreds of innocent persons to whom he has refused the reasonable satisfaction of knowing the cause of their incarceration. As a matter of fact, he imprisoned nineteen persons for reasons of state and some of these were detained but a few days. From a letter to Brigadier de Speth it appears that His Excellency was by no means anxious to add to their number:—"I am favoured with your letter of the 19th inst., reporting the taking into custody of the 5 suspected inhabitants of Montreal, agreeably to my desire and likewise the 4 Canadians upon information of the rebel Captain Vroman—as this is done it becomes more necessary that Vroman should be particularly circumstantial in his charges against them, otherwise we shall have our prisons filled upon trifling suspicions or from private pique. The liberty of the subject being by our laws very sacred it is neces-

sary that suspicion should be well founded to justify imprisonment. Except in cases where the service shall require immediate decision it will be necessary in future that you wait for my particular directions as civil governor to apprehend any subject for state crimes."

"But he suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act," cry his detractors. He could not suspend that which was not in operation during his régime, though he took measures for its establishment before he left the country. In any case the laws that hold good in time of peace are frequently upset in war-time, and Lord Germaine had written Haldimand that it was not in his power, as governor of Quebec, to pardon treason. It is greatly to the general's credit that he did not follow military methods nor condemn a single person to death. If but from economic motives, he was averse to having more captives than he could accommodate. Every gaol in the province was so full of prisoners of war that numbers were allowed at large on parole which many broke and escaped to their own country. This they could not have done without help from the *habitants*, but Haldimand was never hard upon the humbler sympathisers with congress, not even upon the good wives of Ste. Thérèse who had supplied food to the rebel scouts. They were dismissed with a warning.

The governor was informed that His Majesty was loath to have suspects imprisoned, being

desirous of giving proof of his conciliatory disposition, but Haldimand was to use his own judgment in the matter, which told him to secure the ringleaders at any cost. There was Fleury Mesplet, for example, proprietor of the first printing press in Montreal, and the publisher of its first books, a couple of religious works in French. He had come in 1776 from Philadelphia, where two years before he had had the printing and translating of the address of congress to the Canadians, and he was chosen to accompany the commissioners sent to Montreal to confer with General Arnold after the failure of his attack upon Quebec. One of their plans was to start a French newspaper under the direction of Mesplet, but the time was unpropitious and when the rebel army withdrew from Montreal only the printer remained. He began business in the custom house square, St. Paul street, and was the originator of the Montreal *Gazette*, issued every Wednesday on and after June 3rd, 1778, at the rate of ten coppers weekly or two and a half Spanish dollars a year. The first volume was in French and English, a harmless production according to the prospectus:—"I propose to fill a sheet with publick advertisements and other affairs, immediately concerning trade and commerce, to which will be added some diversified pieces of Literature. I dare flatter myself, as I hope, Gentlemen, you will encourage this, my feeble beginning, that you will in a short time see with satisfaction not only a

great variety of Notices and Advertisements but also a collection of facts both entertaining and instructive. I will endeavour to procure a choice collection of the Newest Pieces, and I don't doubt but this will stir up the genius of many who have remained in a state of inaction, or could not communicate their productions without the help of the Press. I will insert in the above Paper, or *Gazette*, everything that one or more gentlemen will be pleased to communicate to me, provided always no mention be made of Religion, Government, or News concerning the present affairs, unless I was authorized from Government for so doing, my intention being only to confine myself in what concerns Advertisements, Commercial and Literary affairs."

M. Mesplet and his editor, M. Jautard, did not succeed in adhering to these admirable resolutions, but sent forth a scurrilous sheet called *Tant pis, tant mieux*, the first French journal published in America, "defaming all the King's officers and trying to throw the colony into confusion." They were arrested and ultimately banished for presuming, as Dr. Laterrière puts it, to criticize the sage policy of the English government and the despotism of the "cruel, hard and wicked Swiss."

M. Laterrière was no friend of theirs, but he surpassed them in hatred of "the inhuman," "the infernal" General Haldimand who had the effrontery to imprison a gentleman of France like himself.

What if pickaxes, petards and cannon-balls from

the St. Maurice forges had found their way into the hands of the late rebel party besieging Quebec —was he, the inspector, to blame? It could not be proved of him that he had ever encouraged the desertion of Canadians, or made preparation for the reception of an invading army, though his instincts were all emancipating and hospitable. In short, a more innocent, much-wronged, and withal clever and light-hearted character never left behind him romantic fiction under the title of *Les Mémoires de Pierre de Sales Laterrière et de ses traverses.*

Another of the same profession, in every sense, Surgeon Pillon, practised treason as well as physic in the Quebec suburbs of Montreal, where he held unlawful consultations with rebel emissaries. Haldimand had full proof of his correspondence with Washington and Lafayette for some time but postponed his arrest in the hope of discovering his accomplices. At length in September, 1780, the governor gave orders that Pillon should be seized at daybreak as quietly as possible and sent in irons to Quebec in the hold of a provision ship. Among his papers was found ample evidence of the promises he had made the rebel leaders to secure provisions for their army in case of an invasion, as well as to join them immediately with thirty-eight men, a number, he said, likely to be increased enormously, as three-fourths of the province were in favour of congress.

Another gentleman of France put out of the way of mischief for a time was François Cazeau, a man

of means with many friends whose seizure was to be given at least the appearance of legality. He was known to be in correspondence with General Schuyler and to have been instrumental in perverting the Indians. Charles Hay, a prominent Scot, was a Quebec member of the same clique, but he was blessed with a devoted and intelligent wife who "crossed the ocean to plead for him," presenting a lengthy memorial to the secretary of state for the colonies in February, 1782. Her husband, she said, was a cooper in the timber trade, dealing also in wine and rum, spending his whole time in "Trade and Industry, an employment very different from the Machinations of Treason or Plots against the State." Two years had he been in prison without a trial and without being told for what he was held, as "his enemies have fatally made a deep impression on General Haldimand who continues as unrelenting as ever." The lady's remonstrances moved Lord Shelburne to request an explanation from the governor, who replied with the satisfactory evidence he had for locking up, not Hay alone, but the wealthiest and wiliest of the confederates, M. Pierre Du Calvet.

Haldimand had been slightly chagrined that Brigadier MacLean, acting upon information obtained in Pillon's papers, had been so precipitate in his arrest of the last-named gentleman, as it rendered fruitless "any inquiry which I might have thought proper to have made into his conduct at

Quebec and into the motives of his journey," which, according to Major Carleton, had been undertaken for the purpose of obtaining plans of the new fortifications. M. Du Calvet was stopped at Three Rivers by an officer sent after him by MacLean, the Montreal commander acting on his own responsibility, as he judged that in so doing he was "erring on the right side," since Du Calvet would escape over the border as soon as he heard that Pillon's papers were secured. "Many people in Canada," the governor wrote to the minister, "are attached both to France and the revolted Colonies. I have contented myself with diligently preventing Effects of their bad Example and bad designs, and pretending ignorance of them, but on these two occasions the circumstances were too public for me not to interfere and to use authority." These men had sown in the minds of the people hopes of an invasion. "I hope the Whole Conduct and Tenor of my Life frees me from a Suspicion of Cruelty or Persecution, and be assured, my Lord, that I wait with Impatience for that Moment when it will be in my Power to release them, for notwithstanding the Injurious Misrepresentations contained in their Complaints, I never had, nor can have, the least Personal Animosity against them. I have only to add that Messrs. Hay and Du Calvet are both mentioned in the List of enemies of the King's Government and Adherents of the Rebels which Sir Henry Clinton sent me from New York." Sir

Henry's informant was no less a person than Benedict Arnold, to whose sins need not be added the crime of plotting against the liberty of Frenchmen in Canada, who were nothing to him. Another witness testified to having heard Du Calvet send a message to the rebels concerning the amount of wheat and flour he had in store for their advancing army. He had supplied the troops that held Montreal in 1775, and boasted in after years that he was the only creditor congress ever paid. Written proof of his designs was also forthcoming. Besides his commission as ensign in the Canadian regiment to be commanded by Colonel Moses Hazen in 1776, there was "Intelligence wrote in Milk in the intermediate Spaces between the lines of a french Song," which witnesses on oath swore originated with Du Calvet.

One of his emissaries was captured while on the way to the colonies, and upon being brought before Major Carleton he agreed to tell all he knew if he were set free and not betrayed to his employers. The promise given, he confessed that he had thrown away in the woods the walking stick containing his despatches, and on being taken to the spot where he was arrested the same was found. The major cut into the stick far enough to discover that there really were papers within, released the emissary, who swore that he was employed by M. Du Calvet, and sent the walking stick just as it was to the governor-general. An eye-witness has

described His Excellency's examination of the letters hidden in the hollow of the stick, and his remark that unfortunately for himself, M. Du Calvet had signed his own death warrant. But he was not hanged, nor did the general make public the condemning evidence he had received, probably from a nice sense of honour regarding the promise given to the man who had put it into his possession. He even directed that his prisoner's proposal to sell Indian goods to the government should be accepted, if his terms were fair, since he did not wish him to suffer financially "from his present unavoidable situation."

Unavoidable it was in the estimation of the governor, who being morally certain of the man's guilt was unwilling to bring him to trial until the agents he had employed to collect evidence had found sufficient to convict him, for an acquittal would have given enormous encouragement to rebel sympathisers. Du Calvet, a man of violent passions, totally unrestrained, would never credit the possibility of anyone having positive proof against him and not producing it. From different sources can be gleaned instances of his vindictiveness and untruthfulness, yet it is mainly upon his testimony that the slur has been cast upon Haldimand's character and administration. If these men were set at liberty, His Excellency was confident he would soon have to confine many others. He judged that he had secured the ringleaders and broken the

chain of rebel correspondence, from the fact that intercourse was less frequent and the minds of the people not so often alarmed by reports of invasion by rebel fleets and armies. The Canadians were giving their assistance with less reluctance in the services he had a right to require from them, but the disaffected would become insolent and even criminal were the prisoners set free.

The governor released them at the earliest peace negotiations, before he received instructions from the ministry, and M. Du Calvet at once repaired to England to enter a lawsuit against His Excellency for false imprisonment.[1] The book that he published in French and in English affords an admirable opportunity for the public to estimate the plaintiff's pugnacity, also his lack of veracity. He contradicts himself in his tale of the motives that brought him to America in the first place. The man was hypnotized from having gazed too long at the unimpeachable brightness of his oppressor's character, and for the rest of his life could see nothing but his own wrongs magnified out of all proportion to the reality by brooding upon them while in confinement.

Without a doubt he believed in himself and in the righteousness of his cause, else he could not have gone the lengths that he did; but egotism, lashed by passion, often amounts to insanity, though not so called in the eighteenth century. His attacks

[1] See appendix T.

upon the public men of Canada had made him notorious for more than twenty years, and yet he can dictate to his translator:—"Still it will be asked, perhaps, how such a man as Mr. Du Calvet has been here represented could ever have any enemies? The answer to this question is 'That uncommon honesty and uprightness, accompanied with a freedom of speech in declaring one's sentiments of publick men and measures, though without the smallest mixture of the love of satire and calumny, are often the causes of envy, jealousy, and aversion in men of different character, and more especially of persons in office and of high station.' And this seems to have been the cause that made Mr. Du Calvet obnoxious to some persons of power in Canada."

This sounds strange after the evidence he has just been giving of his readiness to take offence where the impartial reader cannot but suspect that none was intended. General Haldimand he calls a weathercock for the capriciousness of his behaviour to himself and others. The governor had been on the point of setting him at liberty after three months' imprisonment, but he took offence at the freedom of tone in an expostulatory letter which Du Calvet had written him "in the agony of his soul and the consciousness of his perfect innocence."

The justification which Laterrière pronounces "*très supérieurement raconté*" is thus epitomized:—"To The Right Honourable Lord Sydney, His

Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department:—The memorial of Peter Du-Calvet, Esquire, of Montreal, in the Province of Quebeck, humbly sheweth, That your Memorialist has been settled in the province of Quebeck formerly called Canada, ever since the year 1758, and that some time after the peace in 1763, he sold his patrimonial estate in the south of France, in order to carry over the produce thereof into the said province, and enjoy the benefits of the British Government, as it was there established by the King's proclamation of October, 1763, and the commission to Governour Murray made in pursuance of it:—That he executed the office of a Justice of Peace in the said province with the fairest reputation and the entire approbation of the governours of the province, from the year 1766 to the year 1775:—That he has always acted as a faithful and loyal subject to His Majesty, and during the late war with the revolted provinces in North America (now acknowledged by Great Britain as the Thirteen United States in North America), he always avoided entering into the smallest connection or correspondence with any persons in the said provinces, or in any degree or manner abetting their revolt . . . . But that, nevertheless, he was arrested on the 27th day of September, 1780, by Captain Lawes of the 84th regiment of foot, called 'the Royal Emigrants,' in consequence of a verbal order of Brigadier-General MacLeane

and carried as a prisoner to Quebeck and there put on board the *Canceaux* sloop of war, as a prisoner, on the 29th of September, 1780, by a written order issued by General Haldimand, the governour of the province, but signed only by his private secretary, Captain Matthews.—That he was detained on board the *Canceaux*, as a prisoner in the harbour of Quebeck from the 29th of September to the 14th of November, 1780, and kept on salt provisions and musty biscuit without being permitted to send any person on shore to buy fresh provisions for him with his own money;—That then he was removed to the military prison of Quebeck, and detained there from the 14th day of November to the 13th day of December, 1780, in the custody of Miles Prenties, the Provost Martial of the army, in a very nasty room, which he was not permitted to cause to be cleaned at his own expense;—and that afterwards, from the 13th of December, 1780, to the 2nd of May, 1783, he was detained as a prisoner in the convent of the Récollets Monks, with circumstances of great hardship and unnecessary severity, which have greatly impaired his health;—and that throughout this tedious and unmerited confinement, he never had any charge or accusation brought against him, or could procure from General Haldimand a declaration of the cause of his imprisonment.

"Your Memorialist further sets forth, That, during this long and severe imprisonment by General Haldimand's military power, he repeatedly desired

to be dealt with as the law directed, by either being brought to a trial, if he was thought to have been guilty of any offence, or being set at liberty, either freely and absolutely, or at least upon giving security for his future good behaviour and to answer any charge that might be brought against him; and that Mr. L'Eveque, a very respectable merchant of Quebeck, and who is a member of the Legislative Council of the province, had offered General Haldimand to become bound for him in these respects; but all these proposals had been refused.—And that after the refusals of these proposals, he had offered to make over all his landed and other property in the province (which was considerable) to such persons or trustees, as General Haldimand should appoint, to be kept in the hands of such trustees until the end of the late unhappy war, as a security for his loyal and faithful conduct during the remainder of it; or, if that was not thought sufficient, he desired to be sent to England even as a prisoner rather than continue in the nasty and unwholesome confinement in which he was then kept: but that these proposals likewise were refused.

"For this cruel and illegal imprisonment your Memorialist humbly hopes that the laws of England (under which he wishes to live and die) will give him such a reasonable compensation as can now be afforded him. For as to the damage done to his health by the hardships he has gone through,

that, he fears, can never be repaired. But as General Haldimand cannot be sued in the province of Quebeck, so long as he continues governour of it; his high office of governour placing him above the jurisdiction of the courts of the said province, he is likewise out of the reach of the courts of justice of Westminster Hall, whose jurisdiction does not extend beyond the island of Great Britain.—Your Memorialist humbly hopes that, in order to prevent a failure of justice arising from these circumstances, your Lordship will advise His Majesty to command General Haldimand to repair to England, with all convenient expedition, in order to answer such complaints before His Majesty's courts of justice here in England, as may be brought against him by your Memorialist and the many other persons who conceive themselves to have been oppressed and injured by him in his office of governour of the said province of Quebeck.

"And your Memorialist, as in duty bound will ever pray for your Lordship's welfare and prosperity. . . . (signed) Peter Du Calvet."

In opposition to this must be noted the statement of Captain Schank relative to his fare on board the *Canceaux*, where according to the governor's express command he was treated as a gentleman, lodged in the same state-room His Excellency had occupied on board the same ship, slept on the captain's bedding, dined with the officers at their own table "and if he got salt meat, it must

have been dressed on purpose for him at his own desire, as the whole ship's company had fresh meat twice a week." Captain Schank assured His Excellency that the prisoner "had fresh and corned meat, poultry, fish, pudding, etc., drank wine, spruce beer or grog." After a perusal of that unique production "The Case of Pierre Du Calvet" the captain remarked "it appears that Mr. Du Calvet just wrote what things came into his head to draw compassion from the world."

Much more indignant was Father de Berey's denial of the charges against the Récollets of Quebec, which he sums up as a "compound of abusive lies, gross falsehoods, atrocious impostures and black calumnies, supported only by terms and expressions natural to a pupil of washerwomen and fishwives."

Haldimand's criticism of the remarkable volume was, "the violence and abuse manifested in it will, I make no doubt, prevent the malicious intention of publishing it from making any impression on Liberal minds or such persons as have had opportunity to be acquainted with the circumstances which gave rise to his confinement, but as the Majority of mankind is in neither of these predicaments" he sends his papers explaining his course of action, to be published. (July, 1784).

The costs of the suit on Haldimand's side were borne by the British government, which thereby testified its approval of his procedure, while Du

Calvet found an influential supporter in the Baron Francis Masères, his co-religionist, who had been attorney-general of Quebec province in Carleton's time, and figured as a Protestant opponent of the Quebec Act. But the Canadian plaintiff wore out all his friends, even the dissolute ex-Jesuit, Pierre Roubaud, whose career would interest the seeker for curios. He had been a thorn in the flesh to Haldimand during his military rule at Three Rivers, but was seen some years afterwards by General Gage at an English race meeting, clad in a blue frock coat with embroidered buttons. He held the position of preceptor to a young gentleman of family, for whose morals the governor trembled. The unworthy father turned Protestant, married, went on the stage and directed abilities of no mean order to playing the spy upon friend and foe alike—such was the "facility of his disposition." His estimate of Du Calvet displays both insight and moderation. Crediting him with "a restless, shuffling disposition," he yet believed that his covetousness and fear of losing his property had been sufficient to keep him from any outward act of disloyalty to the British government, though undoubtedly disaffected and "of the most vindictive nature, which knows not of any forgiveness, and once provoked he follows his revenge night and day, spares no pain, searches and precautions."

General Haldimand discovered this to his cost, but he would hardly have credited it had he been

told that for more than a hundred years what this man had said in his wrath would colour the statements of reputable historians regarding himself.

Du Calvet posed as a patriot when he found that his personal grievances did not meet with merited attention in London, and he employed an agent at Beauport to try to get certificates from the *habitants* that they had not been paid for their *corvées*. Messrs. Powell, Adhémar and Delisle were sent as ambassadors to London to plead for Canadian reforms, but M. Bibaud says that they being only "simple citizens" failed to get a hearing from anybody but Baron Masères. M. Du Calvet made a louder outcry than them all for a legislative assembly, for the extension of the *Habeas Corpus* to Canada, for trial by jury, for the liberty of the press, the permanency of judges and councillors, and other reforms that came to pass naturally in the course of a few years after the end of the war.

Haldimand held the country at the most trying and critical period of its existence, and even the French historians grudgingly admit that "to him were due the first modifications of British policy in favour of the Canadians" (Garneau); that he supported the authority of the church (Têtu); that several of the ordinances passed under his administration advanced the commerce and agriculture of the country (Bibaud); that he acted with rigour against the French, not the Canadians, but should have proclaimed the *Habeas Corpus*, and even in

time of trouble should not have imprisoned without the consent of his council (Sulte). None of these doubt the sincerity and disinterestedness of the governor's intentions; they merely find fault with his judgment, which the ministry that employed him considered excellent.

It is a thousand pities that Du Calvet, who came out to Canada again, presumably to collect evidence for his case, was drowned at sea on the voyage from New York to London, for the general had his papers ready for him, and the whole truth must have come out at the trial.

Haldimand was proud to defend the country, but too proud to defend himself, while Du Calvet's dramatic end to a dramatic career stimulated the imagination of French Canadians, even of M. Louis Fréchette, who penned the lengthy lines beginning, "*Personne n'a connu ta tombe, ô Du Calvet!*" The gentleman is hailed as a hero and a martyr, the founder of latter day Canadian liberty, while the governor-general must needs content himself with the scant justice of F. X. Garneau, the historian:— "Now that we retrospectively view Haldimand's leaden tyranny without prejudice, now that we discern what was his master thought, few of us perhaps will refuse to pardon him for his rough but honest absolutism, out of regard for his efforts to preserve intact a portion of the soil reclaimed by aliens, which had been gained to civilization by our ancestors."[1]

[1] See appendix U.

CHAPTER XV

HIS FRIENDS

THE general did not preserve his official correspondence with the idea of setting himself right with posterity. It would never occur to him that such justification might be necessary, and all the more valuable, therefore, is the evidence scattered throughout the mass of papers he left behind him, concerning what manner of man he was. These letters of thanks for personal kindness—from Sowers of the Engineers when shot through the head at Oswego; from the vicar at Three Rivers to whom His Excellency "is charmed to have found means to give pleasure and a little more ease"; from grateful fathers whose sons he has helped; from the religious communities as well as private individuals he has benefited; from the officers of the German legion in behalf of themselves and their troops, expressing "their unalterable and most heartfelt acknowledgments of His Excellency's constant goodness and generous kindness"—all these are not in accordance with Laterrière's picture of the avaricious, vindictive governor who loved to make humanity suffer.

Pardons to condemned criminals, charges against hasty decisions, directions about giving to certain

deserving widows or to old naval officers public money that he might justly have pocketed—instances abound in the correspondence both of his goodness of heart and soundness of judgment. In one of his reports to Lord Germaine he said:—"At the departure of Lieut.-Col. Maclean the command of his Battalion fell to a Captain Nairne, a very old officer, who distinguished himself very much at the Siege of Quebec, on which Account and to prevent the Mortification to him of being commanded by Majors of Provincials, I have given him the nominal rank of Major till further orders."

The general's nephews caused him no little anxiety. Of the three who had come to America to be under his guardianship, Frederick, the first to arrive, was drowned in 1766, and Peter, who came out two years later, took charge of the Pabôs estate. The young man did not succeed there, and in 1779 his uncle secured for him the post of Ranger of the Woods. He died the next year at Nicaragua, and the general asked that his place as Inspector might be given to his younger brother, Louis Haldimand, the lieutenant who had been in charge of Major Hutcheson at Boston, 1775. To his old friend Prevost, Haldimand wrote in 1780 that he was disappointed in his nephews and would spend no more on them. He thought of sending Louis back to Switzerland, since he was £700 in debt, besides what had been paid for him already. It was doubtless a great temptation to young men to live beyond

their means when they had so generous an uncle at their backs, and the kin of the commander-in-chief would always get long credit.

Besides the help given to his own relations, the general was ever found buying a commission for this one or that, or paying the debts of young men who had no claim upon him whatever—all for the good of the service. Colonel St. Leger knew his man when he wrote the following letter from Montreal, July 16th, 1783:—"I have the honour to request that your Excellency will add one more very essential favour to those you have already so kindly conferred upon my son. I make no doubt that since your connexion with the British army you have but too often observed and as often lamented the want of general and liberal education in our young officers, and I am sorry I am obliged to own not one in one hundred has the least suspicion of tactical information. Our Government not being of a Military turn there is no provision made for the attainment of the latter, and for the former—being whipped thro' the school of some pedagogue till we are tired of him and his instructions and at fourteen launched into the army, with all our ignorances upon our heads is the fate of most of us, I wish to do all in my power to prevent the young man whom your Excellency has so obligingly protected from being one of this number. In Canada there is no information of any kind to be procured, nor in England any suited to his walk of life; but

on the contrary many vices to be learned, which for the sake of his reputation I hope he may never know. I have turned my thoughts to the new college of Brunswick under the immediate patronage of the Prince, whose institutions I am acquainted with, and which, to my knowledge, has fashioned in a wonderful manner some of our unlicked cubs, and am now to request your Excellency's indulgence of two years' absence from his duties to accomplish this most important point. . . . I will take the liberty so far to anticipate your Excellency's goodness as to bring him down myself before I can have your answer to this, least the Troops should be ordered to sail before the necessary previous equipments can be made for him."

No doubt the lad went off rejoicing with the returning Germans, under the wing of Brigadier de Speth, who had agreed "to set him down at Brunswick."

His Excellency accepted the invitation to stand as sponsor to Lady Johnson's infant, and he stood in the same relationship to America Riedesel. When he meets with an accident to his leg, anxious enquiries stamped with sincerity proceed from high and low, from General Riedesel, stationed at Sorel, to the Widow Duffy or Du Foy of Montreal, who regrets the failure of her orchard, and her consequent inability to supply His Excellency with apples, but sends him a box of ginseng, that infallible barrier against fatigue and old age.

The Baron de Riedesel was twenty years younger than Haldimand, but there was great sympathy between them as foreign servants of Great Britain, and as men of sterling character with the same high sense of duty. Their correspondence has more of the friendly and less of the purely official tone than the bulk of that which has been preserved; they exchanged visits, newspapers, young fruit-trees, garden seeds, and ideas with equal facility. Current events in Europe as well as in America are discussed in their letters. Riedesel congratulates Haldimand upon Rodney's victory, and condoles with him upon the humiliating character of the royal message granting American independence after so great an expenditure in men and money, but "Destiny favours the Revolt." The governor appreciates the baron's "heartiness" in his work, and says that though the defeat of Cornwallis is a crushing blow, they two must not lose hope, but preserve, if possible, the country committed to their care. Their next effort in that direction was the discovery and suppression of the placards distributed among the Canadians after the Yorktown disaster, advising their adherence to the winning side. Riedesel had strong block-houses of logs put up in different places for the interception of rebel spies; and suspected inhabitants of the country were closely watched by privates and non-coms. of the army. Haldimand had lists of the people made, with each man's political leanings inserted after his name, but

he warned Riedesel not to make arrests except upon well-founded suspicions, as the prisons were full.

Riedesel thinks the outlook for Canada is very discouraging, but "the military arrangements made by His Excellency will cost the enemy dear." The utmost watchfulness is necessary, since it has been his experience that "the spot neglected by Washington is the one he means to attack." On the boundary decisions the baron says the English have given the Americans more than they really asked for, and he thinks it a great pity that the former have not such good geographers as Dr. Franklin, for instance, who is well aware of the boundaries that will best serve the colonies.

In his memoirs, Riedesel says that Haldimand had but little intercourse with the inhabitants of Quebec, living mostly in the company of his officers; and another of the German legion corroborates this with the remark that His Excellency was not fond of state functions, but enjoyed a good dinner and liked to smoke a pipe with a friend. A third considers him one of the most deserving officers he has ever met, and, indeed, whatever his political opponents have had to say about the general, not one has a stone to throw at his private life, which they would have been only too ready to fling had there been occasion. His simplicity put them all to shame.

It must have been an agreeable change for the governor to sojourn for a time at Sorel, where he

had exerted himself to provide more comfortable quarters for the Riedesel family. Madame furnished a room specially for him in her new château. He was godfather to another little daughter, Louise Augusta Elizabeth Canada, who died before she was a year old. The baroness herself had to undergo a serious operation, which one shudders to think upon in those days preceding anesthetics. But the brave little lady recovered, and through her diary we can draw more closely to Haldimand than he allows us elsewhere. Somewhat morose, her husband acknowledged that he was, but his dejection was doubtless due to ill health, since he "was often troubled with the stone, from which at times he suffered intensely." "If I was very sick," he said to Riedesel, "and needed assistance in the service of the King, you may, dear sir, rest assured that you would be the first officer on whom I would call." The baroness describes their first meeting:—"Several persons endeavoured to make us distrustful of him, but instead of listening to such insinuations we behaved toward him with openness and frankness, and this pleased him so much the more as he rarely met with such behaviour. The governor's house, which had been like a barrack, was now furnished in the English style, and though General Haldimand had been in Quebec but five years, his gardens were already full of fruit trees and exotic plants, which it would have been impossible to preserve in that climate had he not judiciously

chosen for them a place where they had the benefit of a southern exposure. The house was seated on an eminence, and quite on its summit. . . . The deficiencies of our social pleasures were in some measure compensated by the invitations we received from General Haldimand during both winters we spent in Canada to pass some time in Quebec, where we remained at each time 6 weeks at the house of Dr. Mabane, one of the General's intimate friends, but always dined with the General. The General spent the evenings at our house, played at cards, and often remained until 10 o'clock; but he had from the beginning begged me to retire whenever it was convenient to myself. I never saw a man who was so kind and obliging to his friends, in the number of which he soon included us. The next spring he invited us to meet him at Montreal, whither his duties called him, and he assured us upon that occasion, that he never spent his time more agreeably than in our society."

The lady speaks of supplying His Excellency with vegetables from her garden, and of being proud to have shown him, as well as other Canadian friends, how to pickle cucumbers. She had the pleasure of meeting Joseph Brant at the table of the governor, by whom he was highly esteemed. Her own descriptions need no condensation:—"We spent some weeks, during the summer of 1782, very agreeably at Quebec. A house had been built for General Haldimand upon the top of a hill

which he called Montmorency House, after the famous fall of that name. He invited us to pay him a visit in this his favourite residence, which, indeed, was most charmingly situated. The river precipitates itself from a height of one hundred and 63 feet with a terrible noise, into a chasm between two mountains. When we first went to see that sublime scene I happened to say to the General that it must be delightful to have a little dwelling opposite to it. Three weeks afterwards we accompanied him thither a 2nd time, and after having climbed up the steep ascent and the detached rocks, which were connected by small bridges and which reminded me of some descriptions of Chinese gardens, we at last reached the top, where the General begged my hand to show me into a small house which was as it were suspended upon the cataract. He wondered at my courage when I followed him without hesitation. The foundations of the house consisted of eight strong beams laid athwart, beneath which the cataract hurried down with tremendous velocity. The situation of this house afforded an awful but majestic sight. The noise was so tremendous that it was impossible to remain long within it. . . . In the summer of 1783, General Haldimand, with a view to diverting me from my sorrow [the loss of her child] expressed a wish to see me in Quebec." Her husband was anxious to go home, and General Haldimand, who also wished himself back in England, had already written to

his government for leave. "We often canvassed the ways and means of making the voyage together."

Riedesel declared that the happiest time he had spent in America had been on Haldimand's staff, and he would have been highly gratified to have been presented to the king by the general under whom he had served with so much pleasure. "Walking one day with him in his garden," says madame, "we observed on a sudden a great number of vessels enter the bay, and a beautiful one cast anchor at the foot of the mountain. The General said, 'These vessels are surely come to convey you and your troops to Europe. Perhaps we go in company.' My Frederica, who stood near me, exclaimed, 'Well, if we go, will you give me that fine ship there?' 'My dear child,' replied the General, 'if it is a transport ship you shall have it; but what would the king of England say if I occasioned him such an expense?' 'Oh,' returned she, 'the king loves his wife and children, and surely he will not grudge my father the pleasure of conveying his family home in safety. And will you not be glad to have your little wife in a good ship?' (The good General always called my little Augusta his wife.) He smiled, and said, 'Well, we will attend to it.'

"Two days afterwards he came and told me, with evident emotion, that we must soon part; that our wishes were fulfilled but that he must remain, and that he should ever regret our absence. He had found, he said, my husband to be a man worthy of

all confidence, and met in every individual of his family a friend; he had fondly indulged the hope of retiring to Europe, in company with us, but that the king directed him to remain and he must obey. Remembering what my daughter had recently told him, and wishing by every means in his power to render the voyage safe and commodious, he had himself examined the ship on board of which we were to embark, but that it did not answer his expectation; that which had so much pleased my daughter was, on the contrary, as good a one as we could wish but was not of the number of those which were destined for the transportation of the troops. He took it, nevertheless, upon his personal responsibility, to freight it and to have it arranged according to our wishes. He begged me to look at it and give directions for our further accommodation; strict attention would be immediately paid to them, orders to that effect having been already issued. . . . He hoped, he said, that he should enjoy, on our return to Quebec, our society, as much as we could indulge his wishes in that respect. He then went away deeply affected. How could one avoid feeling for such a man the most sincere friendship? . . . On our return to Quebec we were informed that our ship was nearly ready, and that General Haldimand had several times looked at the progress of the new arrangements which were making in its interior for our accommodation. By his directions a cow had been bought to supply

us with milk. In a suitable part of the deck seeds of salad had been sown in a layer of vegetable earth. . . . My husband presented the General with his favourite mare and her fine foal, and in return the General begged my acceptance of a splendid muff and tippet of sable as a memorial of the country where we had so long resided. Furs are among the most important productions of Canada. . . . After the troops had been embarked we yet passed some hours with the good General. After supper he accompanied us to the vessel where at last we took a hearty and affecting farewell of him and many other friends."

The lonely old general would toil up Mountain Hill again to the Château of St. Louis, and from his consolatory garden watch the sails of the *Quebec* slip from sight along the Isle of Orleans before he could once more take up the heavy cares that ever lay in wait for him. Had the governor had a wife of his own like Madame de Riedesel, and charming little children such as hers to relax those firmly closed lips of his, he might have been a happier man, and would certainly have been a more popular one—but still he had Mabane.[1]

The doctor, an Edinburgh man, and cousin to Thomson, the poet, had come to Canada at thirty, but was now nearing the age of fifty without showing abatement in the strength of his opinions or gaining policy in the expression of them. Like the governor

[1] See appendix V.

himself, he worked for the country's good rather than for party interests, and they had many enemies in common. From doctor he became Judge Adam Mabane, a member of the legislative council and one of the few whom His Excellency could trust. Haldimand often spent an evening out at Sillery with his friend, on his estate of Samos, or Woodfield. Du Calvet blamed Mabane for influencing the governor against himself, just as others blamed the Baron Masères for spurring on Du Calvet against the general.

He seems to have had a friendliness for the Scotch, this Swiss soldier, perhaps from something akin in their national characteristics. The secretary who took charge of his French correspondence was Louis Genevay, of Switzerland. He had joined the Royal Americans as a volunteer in 1756, and may have come out with Haldimand, in whose regiment he remained till 1763. The secretary for English work was a Scot, Robert Mathews, who had a profound attachment for his chief, as indeed every one had who was brought into close relations with him. A hard worker himself, he was not given to sparing those under him, but they profited both by his sympathy and his example, and the secretaries laboured on at their duplicates and triplicates of letters with right good-will. In war-times with uncertain postal service, it was necessary to keep a copy of each letter sent, and this accounts for the quantity of Haldimand's own epistles in his

collection. Of those received, the majority are written in the formal terms of subordinate officers to the commander-in-chief, but some show a greater degree of intimacy both with governor and secretary. Such, for example, are the productions of Brigadier Allan MacLean, he who raised the Royal Highland Emigrants and defeated Arnold with them before Quebec in 1775. As a subaltern he had served with distinction in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, being specially mentioned for bravery at Bergen-op-Zoom, in 1774.

Should the life of Haldimand ever be dramatized, Allan MacLean would supply the humour of the piece, beginning with his request for clothing for his regiment, one hundred jackets and waistcoats, "breeches not wanted." He had the Highland aptitude for standing feuds, especially with other Macs, and the general had some difficulty in keeping the peace between him and Captain John Macdonnell. MacLean puts in a plea for the French Canadians overburdened with *corvée* in his district, and he advises the enlistment of the numerous "real or pretended" Loyalists who are wandering about the country. His argument for the non-retention of the women and children among the rebel prisoners at Montreal is that they are "destroying" a large quantity of provisions, and he is the gentleman who implores Haldimand to send up an English regiment to make a little society. He also asks whether the Jesuit's old vestibule may not be used "to set up a

theatre in earnest," modelled on the old Edinburgh one. There is a dearth of women performers, but no lack of vocal and instrumental musicians. An ambitious attempt is made at the production of Molière's play *Les Fourberies de Scapin.*

Later, while in command at Niagara, Allan MacLean's opinions of the enemy are expressed with considerable force :—" It is a cruel thing for men of honour to have to do with such worthless and faithless people as the rebels, for while I was busy in using every means in my power to prevent the Indians from going to war, they were preparing to cut the throats of the Indians. I was forced to send three solemn embassies to stop four large parties last week only. However, please God, we shall be prepared for the worst." He speaks of the "designing, hypocritical Americans" having "the impudence to come here without dread," and declares that the farmers in the Niagara neighbourhood are in great alarm over the boundary rumours lest they should find themselves upon the wrong side of the line. Sooner than live among the Americans they would go to Japan, or retire beyond Hudson Bay, and MacLean cannot blame them, since :—" I do not believe the World ever produced a more deceitful or dangerous set of men than the Americans, and now they are become such Arch-Politicians by eight years practice that were old Matchiavell alive, he might go to school to the Americans to learn Politics more crooked than his own."

The Brigadier's criticisms of individuals are in the same original vein. Joseph Brant is a good fellow, but troublesome because "he knows too little and too much." His presence at Niagara is not desired during anxious times, nor is that of Sir John Johnson, as a puncheon of rum would have more effect on the Indians than all his eloquence. Not that MacLean has any favour for the beverage:—"It is a pity such a cursed liquor as rum was ever found out. We have more plague with rum than with all other business. The seamen must have it, for it is part of their wages, and they will desert or mutiny if they do not get it." Other officers observed that a little rum was necessary on short scouts, but for longer distances their men were better without it.

When a new commissary is wanted at Niagara, MacLean asks that the one sent may not be too much of a gentleman, as the pay will not maintain one of that kind; and for himself he requests leave of absence to look after some private affairs, or he will be left with only eight shillings and sixpence a day to support himself and his family. His personal expenses are naturally heavy "in this desert country where there is no public house but that of the commandants, and they have to keep a table for passengers." He gets his leave of absence, his pay is continued throughout by Haldimand's influence, and we hear no more of the warrior till the general has himself taken farewell of Canada.

The details of his departure are given in the Quebec *Gazette*:—"On Tuesday last His Excellency, General Haldimand, embarked on board His Majesty's ship *Atlanta*, His Excellency was received on the Grand Parade and saluted by the troops under arms. The streets were lined by the troops in garrison, and His Excellency was accompanied to the water side by His Honour the Lieut.-Governor, the members of His Majesty's Council for the Province, by Brigadier General St. Leger the Commandant, other officers of the garrison, judges and others, who bid him an affectionate and respectful adieu. Upon his setting off from the shore His Excellency was saluted by the guns of the garrison, which the *Atlanta* returned, and immediately set sail with a fair wind for England. John Schank, Esq., Captain in the Royal Navy and late Commissioner of the Marine Department in this Province, and Robert Mathews, Esq., Major of the 53rd regiment and late military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, went also in the *Atlanta* with the Governor."

The absence of the clergy having been remarked at the general's leave-taking, the Bishop of Quebec hastened to explain that he and his brethren had been misinformed as to the date of His Excellency's departure; no disrespect was intended.

"A fair wind for England" sounds hopeful, but what reception awaits the returning governor is told in a letter from Allan MacLean brought

on board to his secretary at Plymouth. M. Du Calvet it appears, "pushed on by the General's enemies," intends to serve a writ against him immediately upon his arrival. "This is done with a view to put the highest affront and indignity Possible upon him, before he sees the King. . . . It will be very Easy for the Capt. of the *Atalanta* to prevent any water Bailiffs coming on Board, and tho' I doubt not but he could easily find bail at Portsmouth, yet it would be great means of rejoicing to his miscreant enemies to publish the adventure in all the Newspapers, as an affront to him, with comments. I should therefore think it best for him to take a good Portsmouth wherry and with the first tide of flood run up to Southampton, where you may take post chaise directly and come to London in spite of Calvette and his nefarious Protectors and advisors. A Baron Mezier of the Exchequer is his great ostensible protector. I wish you both safe and well on English Ground for the weather has been very stormy and I hate your nasty sloops of war."

The story goes that Haldimand did escape his pursuers at Portsmouth but was arrested in London just as he was buckling on his sword to go to court, but his own diary has no word of it:— "Left Quebec on the 16th November, 1784, in the *Atalanta*, Captain Frelyn. Anchored at Spithead the 8th January, '85. Arrived in London on the evening of the 9th, 10th saw C., dined at Lord Sydney's

saw General Lord Amherst. Tuesday 11: Brigadier MacLean, Captain Cullen came to see me and Davison. Was presented to the King on Wednesday. On Thursday invited and presented to the Queen."

If it be true that he was arrested, it is also true that his nephew, Antoine François Haldimand went bail for him—but one of the many services he was proud to perform for his distinguished uncle. This is the nephew in whom there was no disappointment and probably the happiest hours of the time which the general passed in England were in his house at St. Mary Axe, Hampstead. Mr. Anthony, who was the founder of the banking house, Morris, Prevost & Co., looked after his uncle's money investments and was in every respect a son to him in his old age, one upon whom the retired governor could lean with the greatest confidence. He took as much interest in the settlement in life of Anthony's daughters as if they were his own grandchildren, though he says, "they have an ascendency over the mind of their father which it would be useless to oppose."

Besides Anthony Francis and the three who came to America, Jean-Abraham Haldimand of Turin had two other sons, Bertrand and Henry, and with these also the general concerned himself, as we read in his diary when Anthony shows him "a letter from his brother, Henry, on which we must think seriously. It will never do for him to vegetate at Turin."

The young man went into partnership with François Long, but despite the help given to himself and the firm by his prosperous London brother, he got into difficulties and sought a way out of them by suicide at Turin in 1789.

The general's care for his kin extended to a still younger generation, as in the case of his grand-nephew, Frederick Devos, son of François-Louis Haldimand's daughter. This young man went out to the army in Canada, in 1789, but he kept up the reputation of his predecessors for extravagance, drawing upon both his great-uncle and Mr. Antoine François Haldimand till the former declared he would let him vegetate as a subaltern if he did not mend his ways. Nevertheless he made excuses for Lieutenant Devos, saying that he did not know the value of money, and was relieved to learn, "he has been spending freely but behaves honourably." Frederick the younger doubtless did improve with years, as in 1791 he wrote repentant letters to his great-uncle, whom he copied in remaining a bachelor, and he rose to be a colonel in the English army.

Captain Louis Haldimand's debts pursued his uncle to London, but other and more welcome letters came from Canada with every returning traveller, often over two months on the way. The general sent also by hand some of his own communications, as well as books and newspapers, to the friends he had left across the Atlantic, and used

the same method to pay his debts:—Journal, June 14th, 1790, "I asked Captain Schank to carry ten guineas to Mrs. Cramahé for four dozen of Madeira which Cramahé had lent me on my arrival in Quebec, and which my servant had neglected to replace."

A portrait of Brant's wife and a view of Niagara Falls were sent him, as well as sincere congratulations on his "success over his traducers" who would be confounded at his being invested with the Order of the Bath. The honour was somewhat costly, one observes, by marking the memorandum in Sir Frederick's note-book. The fees amounted to £418-7-7, besides, "Fees at installation £69-17-6; for a plume £15-15; Dinner to the Knights £9-19-6; Subscription for the installation of Knight £250" making a total of £763-19-7 sterling.

On January 1st, 1776, he was promoted to be general in America, and on the 11th, colonel-commandant of the first battalion, 60th Foot, formerly the Royal Americans. He had been a major-general in America since May 25th, 1772, and on August 29th, 1777, was made lieutenant-general in the whole army. He had not, it was supposed, left his post for good and indeed there is a notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October 7th, 1785:—"This day Sir Frederick Haldimand took his final leave of the King previous to his going to Canada of which he is appointed governor." That he did not return may have been the result of the commo-

tion which Hay and others continued to raise against him. In Major De Peyster's opinion the general's friends had but one quarrel with him—that he had not hanged Du Calvet.

Henry Hamilton had been made lieutenant-governor of Quebec,[1] chiefly as an indemnity for his sufferings in the Vincennes affair, while Barry St. Leger took Haldimand's place at the head of the troops; but the two of course did not agree, and Hamilton was shortly superseded by Brigadier-General Hope. This gentleman took up his abode in the Château St. Louis, and would have been pleased to retain Haldimand's housekeeper, Mrs. Fairchild, but she preferred to go to England if the general was not coming back. It was October, 1786, before she embarked, on a merchant ship, as Major Mathews wrote, "she would be overcome if she had to sail on a transport with riotous soldiers and their still more riotous wives."

By that time Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, had arrived as governor-general, and later, according to Captain Freeman, he and his lady became extremely unpopular from their "high, reserved, and distant conduct." Dr. Mabane was represented as standing "like a Rock, unshaken by surrounding storms, with Roman virtue."

The new governor had new councillors, the principal one being Chief Justice Smith, whose influence over Lord Dorchester Mr. Jenkin Williams,

[1] See appendix W.

and, indeed, all of Haldimand's correspondents, deplored. They thought he was the most unsuitable person that could have been sent to Canada. He was keeping the French Canadians in hot water in his endeavour to anglify everything, and was himself a rebel at heart. Quebec was becoming "a little Boston."[1]

Besides the Canadian letters, the general was in correspondence with a Captain Traytorrens on the continent, perhaps a relation of his own, as the name was his mother's. There was also Major Augustin Prevost, who wrote from Montgomery, Pennsylvania, where he was exerting himself to procure settlers for Sir Frederick's lands in Bedford county that were in danger of being sold for taxes. Prevost proposed that Swiss or German colonists should be sent out, as the Americans were friendly to such, and advised the expenditure of about ten guineas on each family for seed corn, a cow, and a couple of low-priced horses. He would himself attend to their reception—"My gratitude towards you alone dictates on this occasion, and shall think myself happy if any of my time can be devoted to

[1] From the diary, June 11th, 1787.—"Met Lord Sydney, who was coming from his office. I acquainted him with the contents of the letters I had received from Quebec. He said he had never had a good opinion of Smith, but that Lord Dorchester had asked for him, and had made himself responsible for his conduct. He told me further that everyone except Masères and a person who was no longer in the country spoke well of Mabane; that Lord Dorchester, although he did not speak so highly of him as I, spoke well of him, although he did not believe him to know much."

your interest." The ex-governor had no such good friend to look after his lands in West Florida, nor his house at Pensacola. General Augustin Prevost, the major's father, was a countryman and a very old friend of General Haldimand. Upon his death, after the latter had returned to England, it was Sir Frederick who exerted himself on behalf of the widow and her five young children, giving sympathy, advice, and practical assistance in securing a pension for her from the king. He extended a helping hand to the major's son. "The young man, having lost General Prevost, his grandfather, is much embarrassed. I must look after his interests." But he inquired into the character and amount of the debts before he paid them.

A friend of Haldimand, born the same year as himself, was Lord Heathfield, better known as General Elliot, the heroic defender of Gibraltar. After a paralytic stroke at the age of seventy-two, he took it into his head to marry again, and it was to Sir Frederick that the king appealed to use his influence to stop him.

The Swiss must be clannish, like the Scotch, if one is to judge by Haldimand's intimates. General de Budé was a native of Vaud Canton, and had been likewise in the service of the Prince of Orange and the King of Sardinia. Though nearly twenty years his junior, he gave Haldimand advice upon official affairs, as well as "the effect of cherry-water on headaches arising from the stomach." Budé and

M. de Salzas, also a native of Switzerland, were men of fine attainments, entrusted with the education of princes and with other high offices of state. Both were Haldimand's friends, and "a man is known by the company he keeps."

CHAPTER XVI

HIS RELICS

THERE are in the archives at Ottawa two hundred and sixty-two large volumes of manuscript letters, the greater part known as the "Haldimand Collection," the smaller as the "Bouquet Collection." The latter consists of thirty volumes containing Brigadier Bouquet's official correspondence for the last ten years of his life. Haldimand was Bouquet's heir; he kept his papers as he kept his own, and both sets were copied for Canada from the original documents in the British Museum, through the public spirit and energy of the late Douglas Brymner, LL.D., Dominion Archivist. The service done by that gentleman to all future writers of Canadian history can be estimated only by a careful study of his reports for the years 1884 to 1889, wherein he has epitomized every letter in each collection.

No longer can complaint be made of the dearth of records concerning the epoch of our national life when it was doubtful whether we should have king or congress for our future ruler. To quote from the report on Canadian archives for 1889:— "The information contained in these papers relates to an immense extent of territory on the Ohio;

the Mississippi; the Illinois; the Wabash; in the Floridas; on the lakes from Superior and Huron eastward; in the frontier posts to the north and south; Michillimakinak, Detroit and Niagara; on Lake Ontario, with its fortified posts on the mainland and islands; on both sides of the St. Lawrence above and below Montreal to the Gulph and onwards to Nova Scotia; on the Richelieu, Lake Champlain, the Mohawk Valley, the Hudson. In fact there is scarcely a locality bordering on, approaching to, or whose interests might affect the future of Canada, respecting which there are not more or less minute details to be found in this mass of correspondence, which fills no less than 232 volumes and covers a period of thirty-three years of public service."

Haldimand was a collector, and in Dr. Brymner he found a kindred spirit to appreciate the value of the documents he preserved. The years the archivist spent in arranging the letters according to date and to subject, the fine judgment he displayed in the terse completeness of his abstracts entitled Dr. Brymner to speak with authority, and he said: "I must confess that I have derived from the study of the correspondence a high idea of the abilities of Haldimand and of the moderation he showed in the exercise of almost unlimited power at so critical a period, when a calm and sober judgment was needed to restrain passion and to enforce repression without having recourse to violence."

"Example is the mildest form of command" may be given as a free translation of the Latin phrase upon his commemorative tablet. The governor had learned to control himself, and was therefore fitted to control others.

Not the least of Dr. Brymner's public services was the translation into English of Haldimand's private diary from the original jottings in old-fashioned French, written in a small, indistinct hand. The entries are made irregularly; sometimes daily for a month or more; sometimes with a gap of a year or two, but they are admirably suggestive not only of the general's personal character, but of the life he lived in common with other men of his age and station. The memoranda begin on January 1st, 1786, and are all written in London, where the general seems to have had a large circle of friends and acquaintances. In this popular diner-out and whist-player, there is no trace of the "sour-looking, morose man of unsociable disposition," described by Quebec critics. The portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds which the Queen herself said resembled him perfectly, will admit no doubt as to the fineness of his face; and according to his contemporaries he had a tall, well-built figure and most agreeable manners. Had he not been a courtly old gentleman, he would not have been so well received at court.

"You are always a soldier and always right," said the king upon one occasion, and another entry

reads, "The King did me the honour of speaking to me for a long time in the presence of Lord Sydney. The Duke of Hamilton was to be created Knight of the Thistle. I remained to see the ceremony and was extremely surprised at the little order observed on an occasion which should be solemn! No ribbon was prepared, and the King was obliged to enter the cabinet to find it himself. Negligence of this kind is unpardonable. . . . When I had the honour of receiving the Order of the Bath, everything passed with much more decorum, and I have reason to believe that order had been given that the ceremony might be conducted in such a manner as to flatter me. The King, in handing me the ribbon, told me that he could not give it to any one with more pleasure and when I kissed the King's hand he held it to me with affection. All the Knights who were at my reception appeared in the robe of the Order, and all the ceremony in general passed with much propriety."

Her Majesty was equally gracious: "The Queen spoke to me for a long time and with much kindness. She spoke in high terms of the two Swiss young ladies whom she had had with the princesses." "The Queen asked me at what time I arrived, I answered that I had been more than an hour and a half on the road and that at last I had been obliged to leave my carriage in the middle of St. James Street and take a sedan chair. That in spite of this, it was with great difficulty I had

reached St. James' at three o'clock. The court was crowded and it seemed to me that I had never seen so many beautiful women there."

He is a connoisseur in good looks:—"One of the prettiest faces I have seen in England"; "Her ladyship must have been a very fine woman, she still has the remains and she seems to be entirely the mistress"; "a beautiful and amiable woman"; "Lady Chatham I found very pretty." The wife of Admiral Digby "is not pretty but amiable and even tempered"; "spent the evening at Mrs. Robertson's, where there were only old women." The general probably enjoyed more the evening he stayed with the last named lady while her husband was at court and she made him the confidant of her grievances. "At last she acknowledged that what she most wished for in the world was that her husband should obtain the ribbon, but if I told any one this she would never forgive me. I joked a good deal with her on the subject." He is quite a beau it appears, "The hairdresser has begun to fit me"; an acquaintance comes to borrow "my lined coat from Pallison to have his made in the same style."

A man of taste in pictures, too, one judges by his remarks upon the different exhibitions he visits as well as the private collections such as Dr. Adair's:—"I did not find a single poor one among them. He showed me a small picture in mosaic, which the Pope had presented to him and which he valued at 6,000 guineas. It is certainly the finest

genre picture I have seen." "Called at Somerset House Exhibition which I thought very bad," but M. des Enfants' gallery pleases him. "Went to see a collection of antiquities with which I was delighted. I then saw some pictures in needle work which were very well done."

His reading was mostly on military subjects:—"Paid Helmlay 3 guineas and a half for the two volumes of Marshall Turenne's portfolio"; "I read with pleasure the last campaign of the King of Prussia"; "Read St. Louis' Expedition into Egypt." But he kept up with the current news of the continent:—"Paid for Leyden papers and for *L'Esprit des Journaux* for the year ended 31st Dec., 1786."

Undoubtedly a music lover, he speaks very often of going to the Baron Alvensleben's concert, which seems to have been a weekly affair, and he criticizes another entertainment, thus:—"Spent the evening at Lady Amherst's, where there was a bad concert and a crowd, and several persons grumbled that there was no card-playing." Probably the general himself was inwardly one of the grumblers, for he dearly loved a game, and most of his evenings were spent at the card-table. He had the necessary qualifications of method and memory for a good whist-player, augmented by his training in public life that led him to follow his own rule, "Say nothing, but make observations." The stakes were never high, nor the hours what we should consider

late—half-past nine, ten and eleven. "Played a rubber with Lady Albemarle, Lady Essex and Budé; won two guineas"; "Budé dined with me, and we went to spend the evening at Mrs. Morrison's, where I lost a guinea"; "Went to Mrs. Robertson's where were many pretty women. Played a rubber, won two guineas and went home at half-past eleven."

It must have been the beauties that kept him so late that night. The Queen herself dined at half-past four, and at the inauguration of the American Club, of which Sir Frederick was sometime president, he "hoped the old fashion would be followed of having dinner served precisely at five and finished at eight."

Alas for good resolutions! "Dined at the Club; we were 24; all in good humour; stayed there till half past one in the morning."

From one party where there was "dancing before and after supper," he did not get home till two o'clock, and at another "crush" he was detained till half-past three in the morning, but these were exceptions. Had he been twenty years younger one of the beautiful women he so often comments upon would have set her cap for him, but he admires them *en masse* and is quite grandfatherly in his appreciation of a younger generation at "Lady Sydney's ball where I found 22 couples of children, the prettiest imaginable."

The Amherst entertainments were not so pleasing.

"From there we went to Lady Amherst's, where there were many people who all looked bored"; and at a large dinner His Lordship gave, "I asked for a bottle of old Madeira because it was offered to us with a bad grace." Whatever respect Haldimand may have had for Amherst as a superior officer does not stand the test of closer acquaintance. "I complained to Lord Amherst that no regard had been paid to us [General Prevost and himself] and our services, that we had relied on the protection we had deserved in every respect, but that he did not protect us. He only made an evasive answer. He is a man who never uses his credit for any one, and who certainly does not like foreigners." "I could see that he was playing the flunky to Lord Amherst, and that the latter (who never does a good turn to any one) wanted to make use of us without himself appearing."

Lord Sydney, on the contrary, acted a friendly part to the general throughout. He dined with His Lordship "almost *en famille*," upon numerous formal occasions also, and it was to him he applied when any favours were wanted for his numerous protégés.

"The fine feelings and the nice shades" are perceptible in the social life of the time. "The Duke of Northumberland received me very well"; "Was at Mr. Pitt's levee, who was very gracious"; "Lord Morton always receives me well"; "Lord Lucy accosted me familiarly"; "Lord Sydney received

me with all the affability possible"; "I have every reason to regret not having paid my court to Weymouth"; "Lady Amherst was polite enough"; "The Duke of Richmond spoke to me more graciously than he had ever done"; "Sir Joseph Yorke seems rather stiff"; "Visited the Archbishop of York, who received me well." Twice is Sir George Yonge mentioned as being cool, and Sir Frederick himself tells of meeting La Naudière, "to whom I gave a cold reception."

Not many of his Canadian acquaintances received the same at his hands. He kept an open door for the travellers from over the water—Dr. Barr, Deschambault, whom he took to court; Colonel Butler, Major Scott, Major Jessup, Captain Twiss, and many others, including Joseph Brant and the Indian agent, Claus. Joseph, who "showed me a copy of the speech he made to Lord Sydney, which I found weak and shallow and much below what I expected from him. I don't wish to be any longer mixed up with these people." Nevertheless, he superintended the painting of Joseph's portrait by Rigaud and made some valuable suggestions about it.

"Captain Foley, Brigadier MacLean and Colonel Cullen dined with me, and we sat longer at table than I could have wished." Was the brigadier at his best, might one enquire, and did he hold the company spell-bound, or was Sir Frederick's old port too much for them all? He looked sharply after his cellar and made memoranda of its contents

at different times. "My nephew sent me my Madeira, 11 cases of 12 large bottles each, and a pipe well filled. I put the whole (except one case) in my cellar under the church." "There are fifty dozen empty bottles under the kitchen stair."

He is kind to his servants and pays them liberally, but expects good attendance in return. "My servant François was insolent. He must go." Another is dismissed for telling a lie, and upon the departure of another the master of the house remarks: "I shall lose a good cook, but shall at the same time get rid of a bad lot." One, Ernest, he observes, has been weeping. "I asked Mrs. Fairchild the cause, who said she had seen him crying in his room, but he said nothing on the subject except that he was always unhappy. A little patience will find out the reason." The reason seems to be jealousy of his fellow servants, especially of the head one, Tuckfield, whose zeal in his master's service exceeds his tact in the management of his subordinates. The general's trials with his domestics are reminiscent of his Canadian cares, and now, as then, he consults his chief counsellor. "General Budé dined with me, and advised me strongly to take an English housekeeper; to have, in addition, a chief servant, who would take care of the silver plate, the table, and the door; a chamber maid to keep the house tidy, and a cook. These four persons would always remain at my house in London whilst I was absent at any time. A man servant

also will be needed to attend to the horses and go behind the carriage, besides a coachman and a groom. That would make seven servants to maintain the whole year."

Evidently Mrs. Fairchild was not English—probably Swiss, as her correspondence is all in French, and she tells the general of a niece in Geneva, "who had a great wish to come to see her, but it seemed to me that she did not want to have her, and I think she is right." Mrs. Fairchild, who had kept the general's house since the Florida days, may have come from the south with him, as she had property in that locality. Sir Frederick would not be so likely to take Budé's advice about housekeepers as in other matters. In dismissing a man servant he says: "He is well pleased with me, but complains of Mrs. Fairchild. He is a fool of whom I am glad to be rid." "Paid five guineas and a half for two gowns and linen for two chemises for Mrs. Fairchild."

Another jotting typical of the time reads: "Was at Spence, the dentist, to fasten my tooth. He said when I was leaving for the continent he would put in a stronger thread which would last for a year."

Lord Barrington, in 1778, had promised Haldimand that although his pay as inspector-general of the forces in the West Indies was to cease while he was governor in Quebec, it would be resumed at his resignation of that appointment. This arrangement was not adhered to, though he was granted instead

the pay of lieutenant-general—four pounds a day—which rank, he thought, should have entitled him to aides-de-camp, but these were refused. "Colonel Marsh told me that the ministry had the intention of bringing our battalions into Great Britain, and that two regiments would be formed from them; that my battalion would be the 60th and Prevost's the 61st. I told him that I did not see that by this step any great favour was done to us, and that at the best it would be at the expense of our income. He did not appear to understand it in that light, and believed it would be a great advantage for us. (Effect of National vanity.)" "General Robertson told me he would show me what Sir Henry Clinton received in America as commander-in-chief . . . . and made me understand what a fool I was not to have taken all the emoluments which should have come to me."

Before Sir Guy Carleton was appointed his successor the two frequently met in London. "He imagined I had saved money, because Clinton had brought back a large amount from America. I made him understand that our pay had been very different; that besides, Clinton had drawn all his provisions from the King's magazines and all his supplies from the Barrack Master General's stores." "The more I know of this country the more I see that it is the height of folly to trust to the generosity of the nation. Services are forgotten the moment there is no longer need of us." "Was at

court, which was very brilliant. I found Sir Guy Carleton there, and told him that when he should go to Canada he would find there my carriages, post chaise, and twelve horses, which would be much at his service. . . . I offered him the house at Montmorency, but he said Lady Carleton would not take it at any price on account of her children."

Haldimand had bought all Carleton's furniture when he succeeded him; had also employed his servants and staff, but the newly created Lord Dorchester was not willing to copy his courtesy, though with the idea of a possible return to Quebec the general had left many things he valued behind him. There was a clock, for example, that followed him to London in pieces "for want of being properly packed. N.B.—When leaving a place not to return, nothing should be left behind, nor should any one be trusted."

Sir Frederick was most anxious to obtain a position of some kind for his late secretary, Major Mathews, whose work for himself was done, and who talked of going back to Canada to cut staves for a living. A visitor whose interest in the major is to be encouraged is General Murray. "He made great protestations of friendship for me, but I found him still the same." "General Budé appears to be interested in Mathews; I will try to draw some advantage from it." He takes his ex-secretary to court. "Neither the King nor Queen spoke to Mathews. I was told that according to etiquette

they did not speak to Majors." The general became responsible for a loan from his nephew to his protégé, and eventually the king offered to make Mathews lieutenant-governor of Antigua, entirely on Haldimand's account he wished the latter to be told, though not designing thereby to detract from the major's merits. When Lord Dorchester at last agreed to take Mathews to Canada as his aide-de-camp, Sir Frederick jots in his journal: "I am myself delighted, because he may watch over the Doctor's (Mabane's) conduct, and prevent his headstrong politics." In June, 1787, the major went to Detroit as lieutenant-governor, and a couple of years later he sent his former chief a bark canoe, probably intended for use upon Lake Neuchâtel.

Sir Frederick's breeding would not permit him to give outward expression to his estimate of the people he met, but if some of them could have had a peep at his diary they would have asked him to dinner no more. "I was well received by My Lord and My Lady, and dined very agreeably. His son seemed to me to have very little sense. Home at half past eight." General Gage "seems to get leaner every day"; Amherst "exhibited his usual fussiness"; "I noticed that Robertson and Ogilvy took every opportunity to flatter his Lordship, and that he accepted it willingly"; "After a quarter of an hour's conversation in which there was not a word of good sense," etc. One gentleman is "an eternal talker" and another "as stupid and silly as

usual." "Lady Holderness appeared more cheerful than usual"; "The Baron always positive when politics were touched on."

Even royalty cannot escape:—"The Prince of Wales is obstinate in his opinions"; "The King does not correct his children and when the Queen leaves the room they behave most improperly"; "The company believed that the Prince of Wales is married to Mrs. Fitzherbert, and anticipated from it the most fatal consequences to the State." His own opinion of the lady is recorded elsewhere:—"Mrs. Fitzherbert has fine eyes but a very common air." "I saw Mrs. Fitzherbert, whom I did not think beautiful nor handsome. She is what is called *une bonne pièce*." (A sly piece).

The general was not above a bit of gossip about individuals of lower rank, the incomes of certain widows, for example; but his interest in public matters never waned and European politics were often discussed in his company. "It appeared to us that we are and shall for a long time be the dupes of France." Of that country's rulers in 1786 he writes, "The King appears to be absolute, the Queen a coquette, and both little esteemed." "Finally it is with France, as with us, everything is done by party spirit and by the influence of a few persons in power."

Budé dines with him and tells him of Lord Grenville's plan for placing him (Budé) in the family of the Duke of York. "This opened a long conversation,

during which I had reason to be convinced how dangerous it is to be beside Princes, and how necessary is prudence to gain and preserve their confidence."

Herschel's discovery of two satellites to his new planet, the *Georgium sidus*, which we now know as *Uranus*, is noted in the journal with the remark:—"No astronomer in France or elsewhere had been able to see them, and the French especially were greatly piqued that our instruments so much surpassed theirs."

In the current war in Europe the Turks are proving themselves, "not so contemptible as I thought," and the general's opinion carries weight even with His Majesty, who "would speak with me respecting the second Bohemian war, in which Marshal Tour commanded the Austrians."

"January 1st, 1787. Went to pay a visit to Lady Sydney at Frogmore, who received me well, as did the family. I left at two o'clock and arrived home at four, after having been obliged to walk more than five miles before my carriage could join me, my servants having gone to breakfast in a tavern. 2. Tuesday. Awoke with a bad cold, which obliged me to keep my room. . . . Gave my servants for their new year gifts; Mrs. Fairchild, 6 guineas; W. Tuckfield, 2 g.; Ernest, 1 g.; François, 1 g.; coachman, ½ g.; groom, ½ g.; cook, 1 g.; Jany, 1 g.; 13 guineas. 3. Wednesday. My cold has increased; I have not slept, had fever and rose with a bad headache. . . . 4. Thursday. Took a whey posset on

going to bed"; but neither this remedy nor the "emulsion to promote expectoration with the help of bran tea with linseed" was immediately effectual. "I sent for Dr. Browne, who advised honey as good for gravel. Took bran tea with honey and lemon juice. Cold almost gone but still a weight on me."

He complains towards spring of swelling in his ankles, burning pains in his legs, and was no doubt looking eagerly forward to a sojourn with his own people in Switzerland. Every visitor from his native land is warmly welcomed, and some of the items they impart are jotted down. "He said that everything was quiet in Switzerland, but that they were tired of the French, who were introducing play and dissipation. It is an abominable race everywhere."

Another friend proposes to go with him to Deptford, where he can see all sorts of yachts and select one suitable for the lake at Yverdun.

"June 1st. I called on the wagon maker, who promised to be at my house on Wednesday next to meet the boat builder, to devise a carriage suitable for transporting a boat in Switzerland. June 3rd. Poor General Gage died yesterday after having lingered a long time. Lady Fawcett was surprised I had not spoken to her about the remedy she had offered me. I must no doubt have been in a bad humour." The general's kindliness is evident whether he is prescribing "ginseng root" for an emaciated friend or playing the peacemaker:—"The two brothers do not live in harmony together. The

eldest is getting old, dreamy and melancholy. I must try to bring about a reconciliation." "Called on Mrs. Munster, who politely reproached me for having neglected her."

"Was at the levee which was numerously attended; the King asked me where I was going in spring. I told him that I would go to Switzerland by the middle of May or June; that I might perhaps go to Italy where I had been in '49. He told me that should I go to Naples I must take care not to bring back the plague. I told him that having escaped in my youth I ran little risk now, etc. I remarked that after the Queen had spoken to me she looked at me several times very attentively and with a kindly air, believing that I had been ill. The King hoped that I would not be as long absent from England as I had been from Switzerland, and that I should establish my domicile here."

The entries for the year 1787 cease at the end of June and there are no more until his return to London in the end of May, 1789. A letter from Captain Freeman, March 17th, 1789, tells how he is missed:—"He (Budé), as well as all Your other most respectable Friends, who He says are making daily enquiries after you, think the happy recovery of our beloved Monarch will be a powerful inducement to You to come over and join the rest of his devoted Friends in the personal and heartfelt congratulations each seems most forward in testifying

on the providential and joyful occasion. You will *not* find the roads difficult—nay, upon the whole, as You Sir are not fond of much warmth and do not fear fresh weather I think you will find travelling at this season no way inconvenient, if you don't make too long stages. Your House is fitted up in the nicest manner, and were I to take upon me to construe the ideas of every one of your acquaintance as well as the above mention'd Friends it wou'd be 'that you ought not to put off coming over.' . . . Mrs. Fairchild is very well, and quite anxious to see Switzerland, that happy, happy Country, would to Heaven! my Dear General, I had wherewith to fix myself in it and cultivate to my latest breath that kindness and affectionate Friendship I so unreservedly experienced from you and Your respectable amiable Relations. Pray present me to them one and all in every grateful and tender recollection that can be acceptable from, Sir, Your ever obliged and most sincerely attached obdt. humle. Servt., Q. I. FREEMAN."

"Arrived in London on the 31st of May, 1789. Visited on the 1st June Lord and Lady Amherst, Lord and Lady Sydney, Sir George and Lady Yonge, Lady Holderness, Mrs. Molisson, General Budé, the War Office, Lord Sydney's office, the Duke of Northumberland, Baron Alvensleben, General and Lady Fawcett, Lord Hopetown, the Duke of York, Lord Dover, Sir J. York, Mrs. Robertson."

This looks as if Sir Frederick had returned from his native heath with all his old-time energy; but the diary jottings for the next two years are shorter and show less intellectual vigour: "Scribbled over the paper the whole afternoon without being able to write the Chevalier Grau a letter which seemed presentable."

"August 11. Tuesday. My birthday," he writes, but he does not mention that he has now completed his seventy-first year. The dinners and the card parties are resumed with not quite their former zest, and he often speaks of spending the day arranging old papers, those records of a busy past, now forever behind him. Probably he destroyed anything of a personal nature that he did not wish to pass to his heirs. In the Haldimand Collection we find none of the letters mentioned on February 4th, 1786:—"Spent the day in reading letters from Bq. [Bouquet] and Prevost of 1755 and '56 and some from Monette which reawakened my old friendship to her. I must write her or see her on my way to the continent." This is the only hint of a possible romance in the whole of the general's papers. No one shall publish his love letters.

He comments upon his servants and his cellar as before, but not so much upon his acquaintances.

"March 24th, 1790. My nephew came to see me to inform me of the death of my sister Justine." She was his only one, and though not the man to express his deeper feelings on paper, one may guess

at his grief, for he had been recently renewing his acquaintance with all of his family.

London palls upon him, though he may not realize that the weight of three score years and ten has aught to do with it.

There is no word now of his riding in the park, though he mentions a walk there occasionally, and his memoranda are more trivial. "Brought butter and fruit from Hampstead." "Took a walk with General Smith; went to the tinsmith's, from there to Dubosk's, bookseller, Gerard Street, and then to a German's where we purchased a ham, beans and lentiles." "How to cook a ham:" the recipe follows. "Bought a gold snuff-box for which I paid eighteen guineas."

Sir Frederick makes a new acquaintance, one Colonel Miranda, whom he finds "always more interesting" and repeats the fact with elderly garrulity. Apparently a soldier of fortune, Miranda's European talk would make him an agreeable companion to the old general for a dinner or a trip to Vauxhall.

The social functions continue and he speaks of playing "commerce" and "quadrille," but attends no more dances. "Dined at Col. Williamson's, played vingt-et-un nearly two hours. I was greatly fatigued, especially in the knees and legs which were much swollen." "June 4th. King's Birthday which was very brilliant. Dined at Lord Amherst's in uniform; home at half-past nine."

During the summer of 1789, Bertrand Haldimand, his nephew, had written from Yverdun concerning the building of a house for the general at Champetit. "February 25th, 1790. Was at court which was not very full. The Queen asked me if my house in Switzerland were finished. I answered no, but I thought of having it finished in the spring." The spring found him still in London, however. "April 22nd, 1790. Took General Powell to the Drawing Room. The Queen told me that she wished very much to see Switzerland which she prefers to Italy."

Dr. Mabane wrote on June 9th, 1791:—"You had set off for Switzerland about the latter end of March," but before the letter crossed the Atlantic, his friend had set off upon a longer journey. The diary jottings come to an abrupt conclusion on August 12th, 1790.

Of Haldimand's death, which occurred at the house of his brother in Yverdun, on June 5th, 1791, we have no particulars; but knowing the sort of man he was and the kind of life he had led, it is safe to surmise that he would not go "Like the quarry slave at night, scourged to his dungeon," but

> "Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

His will was entered and translated on June 21st, 1791:—

"In the name of God Amen. I, Sir Frederick Haldimand, Knight of the Order of the Bath and

General in the Service of His Brittannick Majesty, thinking proper to dispose of my property Do by this present Will name my dear nephew, Anthony Francis Haldimand, settled in London, for my Universal Heir of all the property which I shall possess at my death, as well in Europe as in America, and of what nature soever such property may consist without being obliged to render any account thereof to any one of the family under any pretence, the whole upon the following conditions, that he shall pay all my just debts and the legacies hereunder mentioned.

"I leave to my sister in Law Corn Low the sum of twenty thousand Livres, Swiss money.

"Item to my four nieces, Henrietta Haldimand, Mesdames Newlett, Aubergeaunoix and Bertram to each the sum of twenty thousand Francs, Swiss.

"Item to my Great Nephew, Lieutenant Devos, the sum of Thirty thousand Francs, Swiss.

"Item to my Great Nephews and Nieces, that is to say to the six children of my nephew Anthony, to the five of my niece Newlet (including therein Lieutenant Devos) to the two of my niece Aubergeaunoix, and to the four of my niece Bertram, making seventeen in number, I leave to each of them the sum of Ten thousand Livres, Swiss, on the express condition that my nephew Anthony (whose generosity and prudence I know) shall have full power to keep in his hands all the sums above mentioned or any part thereof, and as long as he

shall judge convenient for the advantage of the above named, paying them interest at four per cent. per annum without being obliged to pay the principal on any pretence.

"I leave to the Parish of St. George, Hanover, my Parish, eight hundred Livres, Swiss.

"Item to the Hospital of Yverdun, to the Direction of the Poor and to the Library of that place, sixteen hundred Francs each.

"I leave to Mr. Adam Maben, Judge of the Common Pleas of Quebec; the sum of Ten thousand Livres, Swiss, revertable to Mrs. Elizabeth Maben, his sister, in case she survives him, but in case they shall both happen to die before me this Legacy shall not be of any validity as to their Heirs.

"I beg of Major Mathews, Mr. Jenkin Williams, Solicitor General at Quebec, Captain Lewis Genevay, and Captain Freeman of the 24th Regt., to accept of sixteen hundred Francs, Swiss, each as a mark of my remembrance and esteem.

"I also beg of Mr. de Salzas and General Budé to accept of my two gold snuff Boxes.

"My nephew shall pay to each of my servants a year's wages, none of them being at liberty to Claim any of my wearing apparel.

"Finally I annul and revoke every other will which I have made before the date hereof and willing that this may have a full effect I have written the same with my own hand and have

hereto affixed the seal of my arms at London, 30th March, 1791. Fred. Haldimand (L.S.)

"N.B. A pound sterling shall always be valued at the rate of sixteen Livres Swiss money."

Of the nieces mentioned, Henrietta, and Mesdames Aubergeaunoix and Bertram were daughters of Sir Frederick's youngest brother, François-Louis Haldimand.

The trusted Anthony Francis had a no less reliable son, William Haldimand (1784-1862), director of the Bank of England, member of parliament, and friend of Charles Dickens, who, in "Pickwick Papers," made copy out of his election experiences. A bachelor like his great-uncle, and a distinguished philanthropist, William Haldimand settled near Lausanne in 1828, and died there. He had inherited Sir Frederick's papers, and five years before his death presented them to the British Museum. His sister, Mrs. Marcet, made a name for herself by her educational writings, and her son, Professor Marcet, who died in 1883, was noted for his scientific achievements.

The Haldemans of the United States have also distinguished themselves in science and literature, proving in their search for truth that they were worthy descendants of Honnête Gaspard, the grandfather of Sir Frederick. Professor Samuel Steman Haldeman (1812-1880) exhibited the family thoroughness in researches along many divergent lines, from conchology and entomology to philology and archæology.

On May 5th, 1784, General Haldimand had laid the foundation stone of an addition to the Castle of St. Louis, which was called the Château Haldimand in his honour. It consisted principally of a large assembly-room for use upon state occasions. The building was not completed for three years after the general had left Quebec, but it was said to have the finest dancing floor in Canada, and objections were made to gentleman guests marring it with their "creepers," despite the orderlies set to watch the feet of all who came in. While the workmen were building this wing, under Haldimand's direction, they had occasion to level the courtyard, and in so doing came upon a curious old stone bearing a shield with a gilt Maltese cross upon it and the date, 1647. His Excellency ordered the relic to be placed "in the cheek of the gate of the new building, in order to convey to posterity the antiquity of the Château St. Louis." The original castle was burned in 1834, but the Château Haldimand was used as a normal school in connection with Laval University until 1892, when it was pulled down to make room for the handsome hotel which now crowns the historic summit. The south-west wing of this "Château Frontenac" covers the site of Haldimand's castle, as well as that of the old powder magazine built for Fort St. Louis in the sixteenth century, the substantial casements of which were disclosed when the walls of Haldimand's wing were razed. The Maltese stone, now

inserted in the wall above the *porte cochère* of the hotel, rivals in historic interest the *chien d'or* of the post-office.

Montmorency House was a white elephant upon Haldimand's hands for many a year, as he could not sell it; but the royal situation found regal admirers in time. Prince William Henry fell in love with the place when he was in Quebec, and the Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father, who was in Canada from 1791 to 1794, made it his residence. The modern tourist has found the spot to his taste, and the sometime Haldimand House —Kent Lodge—is now a summer hotel, where all the world may go to be thrilled by the might of Montmorency's rushing waters that have lost none of their impetuosity since the days when Madame Riedesel wandered and wondered in their neighbourhood.

The park at the corner of Dorchester and St. Urbain streets, Montreal, was a burying-ground one hundred years ago, and until the nineteenth century was more than half over, tombstones were still standing there. Two of these held in remembrance gentlemen who had been partners in the St. Maurice Forges, and previously, at different times, secretaries to their countryman, General Haldimand:—

HONBLE CONRAD GUGY
Captain 60th Regiment
Member Legislative Council Lower Canada
Died 10 April 1786.
æt: 56

JEAN FRANÇOIS LOUIS GENEVAY
Deputy Paymaster General for the District of Montreal.
Died 23 April 1803, æt: 66 years.

He was a native of Switzerland but served
King George 44 years.

Haldimand Hill still keeps fresh in Quebec city the memory of the governor, while a county of Ontario reminds the descendants of Loyalists who it was that planned their settlement.

In the chapel of Henry VII, Westminster Abbey, there is a brass plate bearing a coat of arms in colours, with the circular motto, *Tria juncta in uno*, on a shield supported by an Indian at either side, while at their feet is a scroll, *Mitius Jubetur Exemplo*, and beneath is the inscription:—"*Du Chevalier FREDERICK HALDIMAND, Général et Colonel d'un Regiment d'Infanterie au Service de sa Majesté; cy-devant Général Commandant en chef dans L'Amérique Septentrionale; Gouverneur de la Province de Québec; Inspecteur Général des Troupes dans les Isles Occidentales, et Chevalier du très honorable Ordre du BAIN: Installé le 19me Jour de May MDCCLXXXVIII.*"

This is a small reminder to Englishmen of the man who saved Canada for the empire. Had he been British born or bred, had he been a Frenchman and won back New France to Old, had he even belonged to the revolutionary party in the United States, he would now be revered as a patriot somewhere in the world, but love of coun-

try was not the stimulating motive in his public career. With no family of his own to spur him on either to gratify ambition or to make a fortune, Haldimand lived for others if ever man did. Art for art's sake is its own reward, but work for work's sake is seldom so eminently satisfying, unless one is trying to live down a private grief, and there was nothing of that sort in the general's life, so far as can be discovered. His heart was given to Switzerland, but as a soldier of fortune in foreign service he surpassed in devotion to his chosen profession the majority of those who were fighting for their own country. His zeal for the interests of King George exceeded that of His Majesty's native-born subjects. Duty was the key-note of his conduct, and in the doing of it he was never daunted by difficulties that had staggered many a one animated by the variable glow of patriotism.

A pessimist concerning the future of Canada, he yet accomplished more for the firm establishment of that future than any one of her optimistic governors. Modern Canadian historians state that no events of consequence occurred during Haldimand's rule, but to him belongs the credit that they did not occur.

"Happy the country that has no history."

A disaffected province, a weak colonial minister, called for a strong man, able to use strong measures on his own responsibility. Indian ferocity needed a restraining hand, but Indian rights must be

respected. The Vermont negotiations would have belittled Great Britain, if not conducted with honour and dignity, while the homeless Loyalists appealed to sympathy that had to be tempered with the nicest judgment. The manner in which Frederick Haldimand fulfilled all these requirements entitles him to a greater meed of imperial gratitude than he has yet received, and to a far higher place than has yet been accorded him among the makers of Canada.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

A

Burton arrived in March, 1763. Haldimand returned to Three Rivers in October, when Burton went up to Montreal.

Murray was not made governor-general. That office did not appear until 1786. Murray's commission was as "Governor in chief of the Province of Quebec," and was dated, November 21st, 1763.

The good feeling between Murray and Haldimand was attested years afterwards by Murray. Writing to Haldimand, March 30th, 1775, he said, "your honourable conduct to me there (in Canada) made the deepest impression upon me." (B. 6, p. 278)

B

The twelve *piastres* or dollars were a "bounty" in addition to the regular pay of 6d. per day.

Before he heard from Murray, Haldimand had already proposed to draft men from the militia. He now summoned the captains of militia and explained the situation to them. After ordering them to assemble their companies and call for volunteers, he added that if an insufficient number were forthcoming he would have to demand a certain number of men from each parish.

C

This paper money was never redeemed. The agreement for redemption negotiated with the French government collapsed because of the latter's bankruptcy.

D

The reason given for the abandonment of military government is misleading. The military government, which lasted until August 10th, 1764, was only a temporary expedient until regular civil government could be established. On September 28th, 1764, Haldimand handed over the reins of civil government to Cramahé, retaining only the command of the troops, for, like Burton at Montreal, he declined serving as lieutenant-governor under Murray, who had been his equal.

E

The French justly considered themselves oppressed. The royal proclamation of October 7th, 1763, the basis of civil government in Canada, seemed to abolish French law. But this was impossible and much confusion resulted. Lord Hillsborough, a member of the board of trade at this time, later said that they had no intention of sweeping away the whole of French law. In addition to this threatened destruction of their law, the French now suffered by the change in the personnel of the local administration of justice. The native captains of militia were supplanted by justices of the peace who had to be Protestants and were therefore British merchants or army officers.

F

Haldimand's administration must be judged in the light of the information which he was receiving from every source. Though no invasion or rebellion disturbed his government, he could not avoid expecting either or both at any time. In April, 1779, Germain, the secretary of state, wrote him, passing on intelligence from France of a naval and military expedition that was to ascend the St. Lawrence to rouse the Canadians and coöperate with an American invasion. It was to arrive that summer,—the time Haldi-

mand received the letter advising him of it. (Q. 16, p. 27) At the end of December 1780, he received the following in cypher from Clinton: "By intelligence lately received, an attempt against Canada is so far set in as to render naval transactions on this coast improbable; as the French under Mr. Rochambault will compose the principal part of the armament I am inclined to credit the accounts I heard of a combination being formed in Canada by the inhabitants to join them. As from the difficulty of carriage the armament intended against Canada will probably be obliged to trust to the country for supplies of flour and other provisions, I submit to Your Excellency whether it would not be of moment to take from the inhabitants every article of that sort except what may be absolutely requisite for the support of their families." (Q. 18, p. 130) The news gathered in Canada was equally alarming,—that "the inhabitants persuade themselves a French fleet will soon shew themselves in this river," (Q. 16-1, p. 119) "that any considerable misfortune happening to us just now would raise the whole country against us," (*Ibid.* p. 292) that the clergy were disaffected as a result of the French alliance with the Americans, and that many of the English minority were "declaring their attachment to the cause of the rebels as openly as their own safety will permit." (Q. 19, pp. 268, 269)

G

"This gentlemen (Père De La Valinière) is a native of France, and was, till some time in the year 1776, a member of the seminary of Montreal, under whose patronage he enjoyed one of the best cures in the province, near that town. The gentlemen of the seminary were extremely offended with his behaviour during that whole winter, when he proved himself a perfect rebel in his heart. On their complaint the bishop removed him from his cure to one of less value in the lower part of the province. He

has since quarrelled with the bishop, and was once disposed, as I am informed, to sue him in our courts. Fiery, factious and turbulent, no way deficient in point of wit or parts, he was too dangerous, at this present crisis, to be suffered to remain here, and accordingly taking advantage of his disagreements with the seminary of Montreal, and with the bishop, he is now, with the consent of the latter, sent home. As it rather appears that the blow proceeds from his ecclesiastical superior, any noise or disturbance about it here is avoided, and at the same time may oblige the clergy, especially the French part of them, to be careful and circumspect." (Q. 16-2, p. 689, Haldimand to Germain, Oct. 24th, 1779) In England he was released because there was no law to detain him.

H

Col. Guy Johnson left for England at the time of the American invasion. His absence was responsible for much confusion in his department and considerable trouble to Carleton which was passed on to Haldimand. Carleton was obliged "to make many temporary appointments and enter into expenses of which the nature of the times have not permitted a reduction," wrote Haldimand to Townshend, October 25th, 1782. (Q. 20, p. 305)

On opening Johnson's letter, Haldimand wrote to Germain: "Having reason to suppose it might contain representations that might give Your Lordship an improper idea of affairs in the quarter from whence it came, I thought proper to open it, and I find I had conjectured right." (Q. 17-1, p. 97) Though Germain censured Haldimand for opening the letter, he agreed with the criticisms of Johnson, who later apologized to Haldimand.

Haldimand once opened another letter. It was from New York and was addressed to George Allsopp, whom Haldimand greatly distrusted. (Q. 18, p. 4)

APPENDICES

I

Though Haldimand forbade the commanders of the posts purchasing any goods from the merchants at those posts,these orders could not be enforced because sufficient supplies were not sent out from England and those which were sent sometimes arrived too late to reach the distant posts that season. It appears, however, that they were not enforced as much as they might have been. The collusion that was suspected recalls the conditions in these same posts in the latter part of the French régime. The book-keeping at Niagara was particularly loose, for which Col. Guy Johnson was directly responsible. The firm of Taylor and Forsyth presented a bill of £35,000 N.Y. currency in March, 1781. After it was paid, Haldimand heard that they had not supplied goods to the value represented in the bill. Thereupon Taylor and Forsyth were sued and condemned to refund over £15,000 N.Y. currency. When Sinclair, the commander at Michilimackinac, persisted in disobeying orders against local purchasing, Haldimand dishonoured his bills.

J

George Allsopp came from Bristol to Quebec immediately after the conquest and became a well-to-do merchant. He was perhaps the one consistent champion of English laws right down to the Constitutional Act. He caused Murray trouble by an amusing resistance to his ordinance requiring the carrying of lanterns at night. From the secretary and clerk of the council, a patentee who remained in England, he secured the appointment of deputy secretary and clerk. Murray, however, satisfied his grudge by refusing to admit him to the office. He won Carleton's favour, on the latter's arrival, and was at last admitted. He lost this position on the reorganization of the government after the Quebec

Act, but at the same time he was made a member of the council. When Chief Justice Livius tried to uncover Carleton's false position resulting from his disobedience of instructions, and struck a blow for English law, Allsopp supported him. After Livius' dismissal and Haldimand's arrival, Allsopp led the same cause. For this reason Haldimand dismissed him from the council. He was never guilty of sedition. When Dorchester returned to follow an opposite policy, Allsopp was of course in favour. On Dorchester's recommendation, he was put on both the legislative and executive councils of Lower Canada at the time they were organized.

K

It is unfair to Germain to insinuate that he encouraged spies. From the conquest of the country it was common for private individuals or interests to approach the home government directly. Murray suffered as a result, but Haldimand never did.

L

The attorney general was James Monk. Though there were several grounds for friction, one overshadowed all the rest. That was Monk's preference for a reform of the law to favour the English mercantile interest. After Dorchester's arrival, Monk was dismissed for his attack on the judges in 1787, (Bradley, "Dorchester," chap. XI, p. 226 and appendix "V") but was soon restored. Later he was made chief justice of the district of Montreal.

M

The "alterations in the laws of property" were "calculated to favour the old subjects," but not "at the expense of the new." Haldimand's resistance was much more important than appears in the text. He was continuing Carleton's

perversion of the Quebec Act, which sacrificed the interests of the old subjects without at all advancing those of the new. There was no excuse for Carleton who disobeyed and deceived the home government. For Haldimand, however, there was some excuse. Though he disobeyed, he was only following the practice of his predecessor, and he was quite honest about it. (See Bradley, "Dorchester," appendix "N" and the article there referred to.)

N

"The bishop (Briand) is old and very infirm. He has been for some time under the influence of the Jesuits, one of whom is his confessor, and though he is a man of too much probity ever to act contrary to his duty to government, yet he may be led . . . to forward the views of designing men in preserving a French influence. . . . The Jesuits are the only order of regular priests who have shown an attachment to the rebels." (Q. 21, pp. 265-266, Handimand to North, June 19th, 1783)

"The education for the priesthood was interrupted after the conquest of the country for many years. It was resumed by the priests of the seminary of Quebec in the year 1766 upon the arrival of Monsieur Briand with the tacit permission of government in England to exercise the episcopal functions in the Province. Many parishes had, during that interval, become vacant by the death of the incumbents—hence the bishop was under the necessity of confirming orders upon many students who had been in the seminary but a few years, and who were not qualified for the priesthood.

"It is to be observed that the *noblesse* and better kind of Canadians were never fond of embracing an ecclesiastical life—war, or the trade with the Indians in the upper country, which from the fatigues and dangers attending it resembled war, was their favourite pursuit.

"Hence the priesthood was composed either of natives

of old France, or of Canadians taken from amongst the sons of tradesman, such as smiths, carpenters, etc, and these necessarily were under the influence and imbibed the prejudices and attachments of the former—but that is not all the evil. The seminary of Quebec has been obliged from the death and failure of the importation of the natives of France to adopt many of these Canadians, who never having had much education themselves can never bestow it upon others.

"Hence the succession of priests in this country must become more and more ignorant and the less capable of attachment to the British Empire whenever it is put in competition with that of France. This would in time be remedied by Your Lordship's procuring five or six priests of good morals and education from Savoy." (Q. 17-1, p 195, Haldimand to Germain, Oct. 25th, 1780)

O

The St. Paul's Bay disease was syphilis which was introduced probably by the British army at the time of the conquest and had now developed into a veritable epidemic. It yielded to mercury which was distributed through the infected parishes. In this work the priests were very effective.

P

The "History of Emily Montague," (London, 1769) an entertaining little novel in the form of a series of letters, is most valuable for its pictures of society in Canada after the conquest. The author, Frances Brooke, was the young wife of the garrison chaplain, and had quite a reputation as a gossip.

Q

That the British retention of the upper posts was more than a mere reprisal for the American treatment of the loyalists, appears in the correspondence of the day. On

August 20th, 1783, Haldimand wrote to Lord North: "The longer the evacuation is delayed, the more time is given to our traders to remove their merchandise, or to convert it into furs, and the greater opportunity is given to the officers under my command to reconcile the Indians to a measure for which they entertain the greatest abhorrence." (Q. 21, p. 390) Sydney, who had succeeded North, replied on April 8th, 1784: "The 7th article stipulates that they (the posts) shall be evacuated with all convenient speed, but no certain time is fixed, and as America has not, on her part, complied with even one article of the treaty I think we may reconcile it in the present instance to delay the evacuation of these posts, at least till we are enabled to secure the traders in the interior country and withdraw their property. The management of the Indians requires great attention and address at this critical juncture, and I am persuaded that our retaining possession of those posts will not even be detrimental to America, and may be the means of preventing mischiefs which are likely to happen should the posts be delivered up whilst the resentment of the Indians continues at so high a pitch." (Q. 23, p. 60) On May 12th, 1784, Haldimand suggested "that the evacuation of the posts might be delayed as a means of obliging the congress to prolong the term of one year granted by the treaty for the loyalists to solicit the return of their estates." (*Ibid.* p. 164) The merchants of Canada and London who were interested in the fur trade used their utmost influence to delay and if possible prevent the surrender of the posts. The delay until 1796 was of great value to the fur trade, for during this interval the bulk of the trade shifted from the south to the north of the line and was thus preserved.

R

The regulation that all merchandise crossing the lakes

must be transported in government vessels was introduced by Carleton on the outbreak of the American war. Haldimand continued it even after the end of the war. He explained his reason to St. Leger in orders just before he departed, November 14th, 1784. "If the transport of any merchandise upon those lakes, except in the King's vessels, was permitted, a door would be opened for a clandestine illicit commerce which would be very hurtful to the trade of this Province, as a great part of the furs from the upper country would be introduced to the American States by means of numberless small rivers running from the lakes but particularly by the great route of Oswego directly to Albany. . . . It is attended with another evil upon the upper lakes, that of introducing the Americans into the interior parts of the country, and giving them opportunities to debauch our friendly Indians, and supplant us in the fur trade." (Q. 24-1, p. 144)

The merchants were always impatient of this restriction, complaining of unnecessary delays and of favouritism in transporting their goods. After Haldimand's departure, their resistance reached the point of refusing to pay the freight that they owed.

S

Lord North thought that the settlement of the loyalists in the Eastern Townships would create a barrier against the Americans. Haldimand objected to this location because as he said: (1) it would cause friction and he thought the country, after the loss of the fur trade by the cession of the western posts, would hardly be worth going to war to preserve; (2) these lands should be reserved for the rapidly increasing French who would soon need them and would form a more effective barrier; and (3) it would open the door for an illicit trade with the Americans. It was said that the loyalists who sought lands on the American

frontier did so mainly in the hope of indulging in such trade.

Haldimand's attention was first drawn to Cataraqui by the news that the boundary line would exclude Carleton Island. He hoped it would be a good alternative post and centre of loyal Indian settlement. Then he thought of planting the loyalists in that part of the country because: (1) the Indians desired it; (2) it would strengthen British control of the upper country; (3) it would develop a granary for the whole country; and (4) it might conduce to holding the imperilled fur trade.

The actual business of settling the loyalists in the upper country, Haldimand turned over to Sir John Johnson. The total number settled there, according to the muster rolls of the fall of 1785, was about 5,800.

T

"The charges of Du Calvet were utterly without justification. Within the limits which the public safety imposed, Haldimand had been particularly considerate of the personal welfare of Du Calvet. At a time when the greatest caution was necessary many persons were arrested on suspicion, but were liberated if satisfactory explanations were given of their conduct. . . . A great many prisoners of war were detained in the Canadian prisons, but there was no evidence to show that there were any unnecessary arrests on political grounds." (Professor McArthur in "Canada and its Provinces," vol. 3, p. 114)

Haldimand did not favour recourse to martial law. On January 5th, 1781, Cramahé wrote to him: "Whenever you receive certain intelligence of the enemy's moving to invade the Province, it would be right, I think, to proclaim the martial law,—as the best means of keeping the inhabitants in a due subjection to their duty; this step might be

taken without consulting the council." (B. 95, p. 95) To this Haldimand replied: "I have the greatest reluctance to proclaim martial law; at any rate it never could be advisable till the invasion takes place, and then it is too late to advise the people to thresh their grain. . . . I flatter myself that the King's council and other his faithful subjects will give me such assistance as will forever render the proclamation of martial law unnecessary." (*Ibid.*, p. 100)

U

The merchants as a class may also be included among Haldimamd's enemies. At the beginning of his administration, they did appreciate his solicitude for their welfare. In time, however, they grew more hostile to him and he more suspicious of them. The fundamental reason was his rigid opposition to any amendment of the Quebec Act in their favour. (See *supra* note "M") But there were many other contributory causes. His insistence that every trader to the upper country must have a licence signed by himself, his attempt to keep down the expenses of the western posts and even to stop local purchasing by the commanders of these posts, (see *supra* note "I") and his prohibition of private vessels on the lakes even after the close of hostilities (see *supra* note "R") were constant irritants. But a more important cause than these was the grand financial tangle and the law suits which grew out of it at the close of his administration. Government expenses in Canada grew by leaps and bounds during the war, and bills drawn upon London tended to sink lower and lower. To avoid this loss on exchange, bills were sold at par to the local merchants upon partial credit. Unfortunately this delicate arrangement was not properly supervised. This expansion of their credit enabled the merchants to "spread themselves." Prices were rising and there was an orgy of speculation. At

the end of the war, when the bottom fell out of prices and the merchants found themselves overloaded with stock and debts, there was bound to be a crash. This alone would have been disastrous to the merchants, and now it was made infinitely worse by Haldimand's action upon instructions from the home government. He ordered the immediate payment of all debts upon public bills and instituted law suits to recover them. As the bench was filled by members of the "French party" which was hostile to them, (see *infra* note "V") the merchants felt that there was hope of neither justice nor mercy. There was now a first class commercial disaster; houses fell right and left. The mercantile interest believed that Haldimand was trying to ruin them, while he was convinced that they were trying to cheat the government. ("Canadian Historical Review," vol. 6, p. 123, A. R. M. Lower, "Credit and the Constitutional Act").

V

Adam Mabane is one of the most interesting characters in Canada after the conquest, and he exercised a great influence in the country because of his position and his intimacy with the three governors, Murray, Carleton, and Haldimand. He came to Canada as surgeon's mate in the army and later rose to be head of the military hospital. Besides fulfilling the duties of his military appointment, he was able to build up a private practice which was worth about £600 a year, if his later statement is to be trusted. From 1764, however, he renounced this income, though not his practice, for he held it to be incompatible with the tenure of civil office. In the fall of that year, on the establishment of civil government, Murray appointed him to the council and made him judge of the court of common pleas with a salary of £150. Carleton, on his arrival in 1766, committed a false step which alienated the majority of his

council, including Mabane. As Mabane was one of the leaders of this just opposition, Carleton unjustly dismissed him from the council and vilified him in his correspondence home. (See article referred to in "Dorchester," appendix "H") But Mabane retained his position on the bench and completely gained Carleton's confidence by the time the Quebec Act was passed. His success with Carleton was partly due to their common sympathy for the French, for Mabane seems to have become the leader of the "French party" or "King's party," as it was called in the colony. On the reorganization of the government after the Quebec Act, Mabane was not only restored to the council, but also made a member of that inner circle created by Carleton,—his "Privy Council." He seems to have gained a great influence over both Carleton and Haldimand. The latter relied so much on his advice and judgment that there were many complaints on this score toward the end of Haldimand's régime. It was said in Quebec that the governor consulted Mabane alone, and that anything which Haldimand proposed emanated from Mabane. Indeed, Haldimand suggested to the home government that Mabane should be made chief justice in the place of Livius, which would have been a most unwise choice. Upon the return of Carleton as Lord Dorchester, Mabane's influence sank. New conditions had arisen and Dorchester, much under the influence of the new chief justice, William Smith, favoured an entirely different policy from that which had earlier drawn him to Mabane. Adam Mabane died, January 3rd, 1792.

W

Henry Hamilton succeeded Cramahé as lieutenant governor in the summer of 1782. He at once joined the party favouring the partial introduction of English civil law. As Haldimand was strongly prejudiced in favour of French laws, he profoundly suspected Hamilton. As the

latter had to take over the charge of the administration upon the departure of Haldimand in 1784, he looked for some confidence when the latter's date of sailing drew near. But the governor's prejudice was too great. He treated Hamilton quite shabbily, confining their intercourse to necessary formalities. Hamilton thus began his administration under a handicap. In the spring of 1785 he very indiscreetly renewed the lease of the King's Posts just before he received official instructions to let them to new lessees. This led to his dismissal and the appointment of Henry Hope who had succeeded to St. Leger as commander of the troops.

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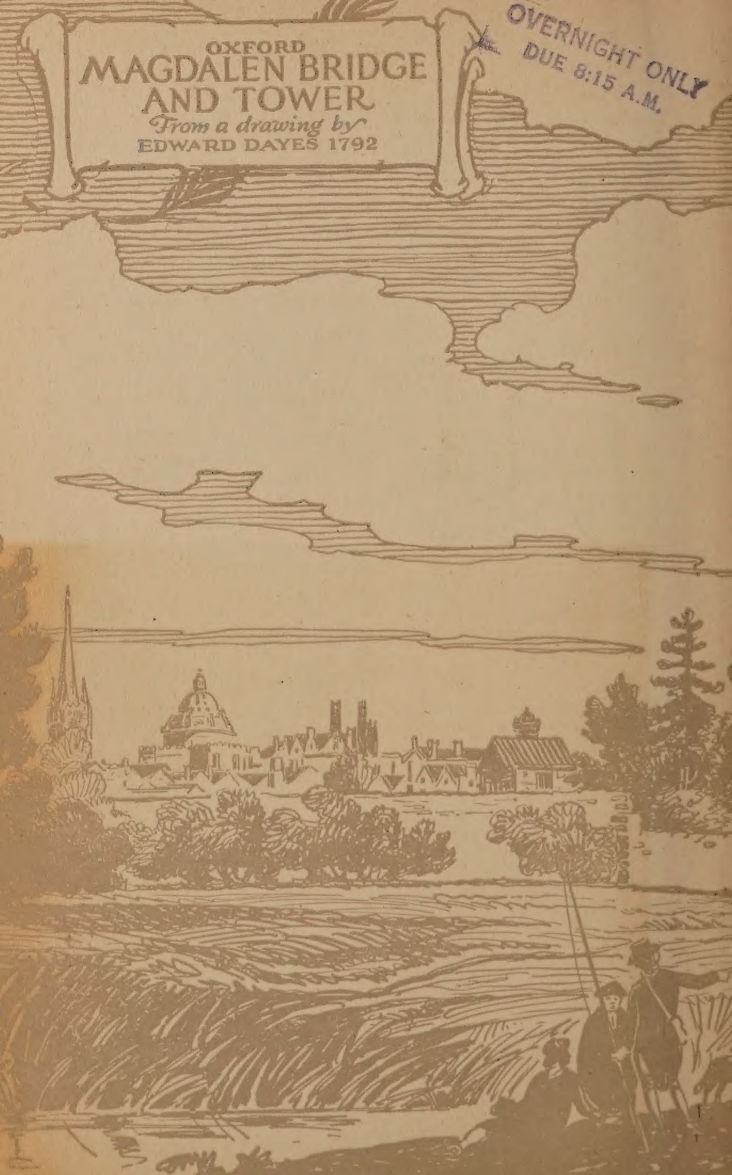

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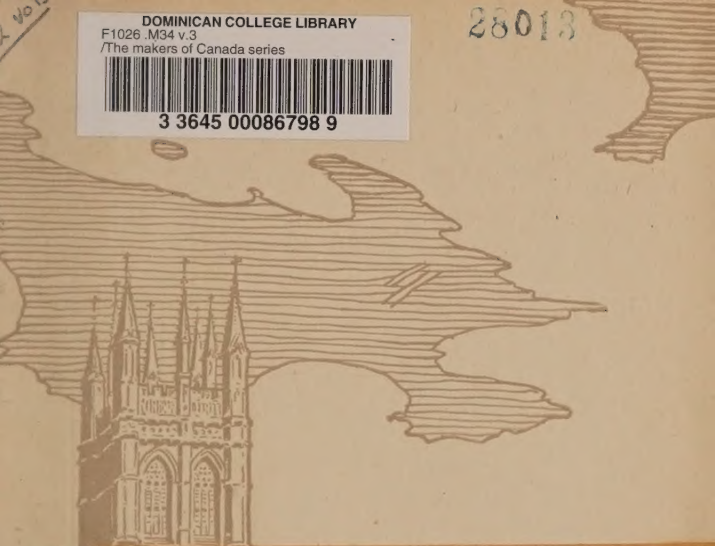

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